

JOHNSON'S LIFE OF POPE

WITH
INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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NOTE

THE following are the principal books and editions dealing with Johnson and Pope, which have been consulted in the compilation of the Introduction and Notes —Macaulay's Life of Johnson in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and Essays on Croker's *Boswell*, on Moore's *Byron*, and on Addison Leslie Stephen's *Johnson* (English Men of Letters, 1878) · Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, edited by G B Hill Hallam's *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries* (1839) Leslie Stephen's *Pope* (English Men of Letters, 1880) Elwin and Courthope's *Works of Pope* (10 Vols, 1871-1889) · Warton's *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (5th edition, 1806) : Spence's *Anecdotes* (1820) . and the editions of Johnson's *Life of Pope* by Cunningham (1854), Matthew Arnold (1891), and Ryland (1894) I have also to thank Principal Selby, of the Deccan College, Poona, for the use of some manuscript notes which he kindly placed at my disposal

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INTRODUCTION.

SAMUEL JOHNSON was born at Lichfield, September 18, 1709. His father, Michael Johnson, an ardent High Churchman and Tory, was a bookseller of sufficient note to be a magistrate of the town, and in 1709 sheriff of the county. To his son he seems to have transmitted a constitutional taint, in the form of scrofula, a disease for which the royal touch was believed to be a more efficacious cure than any medicine. Hence one of Samuel's earliest recollections was that of a stately lady wearing diamonds and a long black hood, who was none other than Queen Anne, and by whom he was "touched for the king's evil." But it was in vain. His features were scarred and distorted by the disease, his sight was impaired, and throughout his life he was subject to odd convulsions and gestures, which may have had their origin in the same cause. "In the child," says Macaulay, "the physical, intellectual, and moral peculiarities which afterwards distinguished the man were plainly discernible; great muscular strength accompanied by much awkwardness and many infirmities, great quickness of parts, with a morbid propensity to sloth and procrastination; a kind and generous heart, with a gloomy and irritable temper."

In spite of his natural indolence, Samuel acquired a good deal of knowledge (especially of Latin authors) at the Lichfield Grammar School and elsewhere, before the age of sixteen, when he left school, probably in order to learn his

father's business The next two years, accordingly, he spent at home, devouring the books in his father's shop As Mr. Stephen expresses it, "he gorged books. he tore the hearts out of them, but did not study systematically " The result was that he was able to say at the age of fifty-three, that he knew almost as much at eighteen as at any subsequent period of his life.

In the meantime his father's business was declining, and the family were sinking into poverty Nevertheless, in 1728 Samuel was able to go into residence at Pembroke College, Oxford, though the precise means by which he supported himself there are not known with any certainty. His ungainly and poverty-stricken appearance exposed him to many mortifications, which led him to show as little regard for the academical authorities as Milton, whom he censures in this respect He did not, however, proceed to the same lengths as Milton in attacking the *system* of the university, the traditional Toryism of which was in harmony with Johnson's original prejudices. But whatever the resources were on which he had relied, they seem to have failed him in the course of 1731, and he had to leave Oxford without any degree At the end of the year, his father died, most of the little property left went to the widow, and Samuel's patrimony amounted to no more than twenty pounds During the next thirty years, his life was one long struggle with poverty,

During the first portion of this period he tried to earn his living by what has been called "the most depressing and least hopeful of employments," schoolmastering In 1735, having no money and no prospects, he proceeded to fall in love, and married a widow named Elizabeth Porter, forty-six years of age "To ordinary spectators the lady appeared to be a short, fat, coarse woman, painted half an inch thick, and dressed in gaudy colours But to Johnson, whose passions were strong, whose eyesight was weak, and who had seldom or never been in the same room with a woman of real fashion, his Titty, as he called her, was the most beautiful, graceful, and accomplished of her

sex" (Macaulay). The marriage, at any rate, did not turn out an unhappy one.

In the following year (1736) Johnson started an 'academy,' and advertised for pupils; but few came. Neither his personal appearance and character nor his own desultory education were such as to qualify him for success in the profession he had adopted; and in 1738 he decided to seek his fortune in London, whither he was accompanied by one of his few pupils, David Garrick, afterwards the celebrated actor.

In the metropolis fresh mortifications and hardships awaited him, and it was in these years of misery that he acquired the uncouth manners which marked his subsequent career: for the rest of his life he was slovenly in dress, and ravenous in his manner of eating, gorging his food with such violence that the veins on his forehead swelled and the perspiration broke out. Of the sordid details of his life at this time not much is known: but before long he obtained regular employment from the bookseller who owned the *Gentleman's Magazine*, to which his most noteworthy contributions were the Parliamentary speeches. The debates at that time were not allowed to be reported; but Johnson was supplied with a few notes of the proceedings, which he had to work up into regular speeches, for both the Ministry and the Opposition. At this time too he gained some reputation by the poem called *London* (an imitation of the third satire of Juvenal), which was published anonymously in May, 1738, and went into a second edition at the end of a week. Pope, who had recently published his imitations of Horace, was sufficiently struck by the performance to seek out the author's name, and to try to do something for him: but his efforts came to nothing. For this poem Johnson received ten guineas

During the years which followed, his literary reputation increased, until in 1747 several leading booksellers combined to employ him in the preparation of an English Dictionary. This book, which earned him the title of "the great lexicographer," occupied him until 1755, and for it

John received between fifteen and sixteen hundred guineas out of which he had to pay various assistants and copyists. The work was, as he himself expressed, "harmless drudgery," which the rise of scientific etymology has rendered obsolete, but it helped him into his subsequent position of monarch of the English literary world.

During the progress of the Dictionary he sought relaxation in writing the *Vanity of Human Wishes* (an imitation of the tenth satire of Juvenal), which was published in 1749, and for which he received fifteen guineas. A few days later his tragedy *Irene* was produced by his friend Garrick at Drury Lane Theatre, one of "the heaviest and most unrea-sonable of dramatic performances" (Stephen), it nevertheless ran for thirteen nights and brought its author nearly three hundred pounds.

In 1750 Johnson essayed to repeat the success of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* of Steele and Addison, and for three years he brought out twice weekly the *Rambler*, containing short essays on social, literary, and moral topics. "ponderous pages," says Stephen, "mark the culminating period of Johnson's worst qualities of style. The pompous and involved language seems indeed to be a fit clothing for the melancholy reflections which are its chief staple." The last *Rambler* appeared in March, 1752, and a few days later Mrs Johnson died. Johnson's grief was bitter, but he turned for relief to hard work, and in three more years the Dictionary appeared. "It was hailed with enthusiasm such as no similar work has ever excited. The definitions show much acuteness of thought and command of language, and the passages quoted from poets, divines, and philosophers are so skilfully selected, that a leisure hour may always be very agreeably spent in turning over the pages" (Macaulay).

The next few years were spent in petty literary work amid a state of indebtedness, but in the spring of 1758 Johnson started a second series of essays called the *Idler*, which appeared weekly for two years. Whilst he was in the midst of this work, his mother died at Lichfield, at the age of 71 (January, 1759), and to defray the funeral expenses Johnson

late, in the evenings of a single week, his story of *Selas*, the scene of which is laid in Abyssinia. For this he received a hundred pounds, and twenty-five more for a second edition. But a great change in his way of life was at hand. In 1762, the ministry of the new king, George III., offered him a pension of three hundred pounds a year, which he accepted, in spite of his definition of a pension in the Dictionary as "pay given to a State hireling for treason to his country." Henceforth he was free from the daily anxiety and drudgery which he had experienced for more than thirty years.

In 1765, after a delay of nine years due to his incurable blindness, he produced a new edition of Shakespeare, for which he had received large subscriptions in advance. Its publication, in Macaulay's words, "saved Johnson's character for honesty, but added nothing to the fame of his abilities and learning. It would be difficult to name a more unevenly, a more worthless edition of any great classic."

The remaining twenty years of his life are the period best known to us. for though he wrote but little, he talked a great deal, and the records of these conversations have been preserved in the celebrated work of James Boswell, a young Scotch lawyer, who came to know Johnson in 1763, and ever afterwards worshipped him. To Boswell too is owing a great part of the fame of that literary club of which Johnson was the centre, and which numbered amongst its members Sir Joshua Reynolds, Burke, Goldsmith, Garrick, Sheridan, Gibbon, and many others of the most eminent scholars and wits of the day.

In 1765, also, Johnson became acquainted with a wealthy lawyer, named Thrale, and his wife, and for sixteen years spent about half of his time under their roof. With them he travelled to Bath and to Brighton, to Wales and to Paris. At the same time he had a house of his own near Fleet-street in London, where he maintained a number of poor dependants, presided over by a blind lady, Miss Williams. In 1773 he was persuaded to accompany Boswell in a tour to the north of Scotland and the Hebrides, then inhabited

by a rude and simple race of islanders. A narrative of this journey was published by him in 1775, in which year also the University of Oxford made him a D. C. L., he had been an LL. D. of Dublin University for the last ten years. Two years later he undertook what was destined to prove the most important of all his works, the *Lives of the Poets*. Originally meant only to be short biographical notices for a new edition of the English poets, they developed into ten volumes, published 1779-1781. In the latter year Johnson was much affected and shaken by the death of his friend, Mr. Thrale. His own infirmities were growing upon him, but for a time he was carefully and affectionately nursed by Mrs. Thrale, until her growing attachment to an Italian musician, named Piozzi, caused an estrangement between them. In June, 1783, Johnson had a paralytic stroke, from this he recovered, but he suffered much from asthma, dropsy, and other complications, and in June, 1784, the marriage of Mrs. Thrale to Piozzi caused him to finally break off their long-standing friendship. As the winter approached, his infirmities increased, together with his gloom and the terror of death by which he had always been possessed. Towards the end, however, he became calmer and more patient, and died peacefully, December 13th, 1784. A week later he was buried in Westminster Abbey.

"Since his death," writes Macaulay in conclusion, "the popularity of his works—the *Lives of the Poets* and, perhaps, the *Vanity of Human Wishes* excepted—has greatly diminished. His *Dictionary* has been altered by editors till it can scarcely be called his. An allusion to his *Rambler* or his *Idler* is not readily apprehended in literary circles. The fame even of *Rasselas* has grown somewhat dim. But though the celebrity of the writings may have declined, the celebrity of the writer, strange to say, is as great as ever. Boswell's book has done for him more than the best of his own books could do. The memory of other authors is kept alive by their works. But the memory of Johnson keeps many of his works alive. The old philosopher is still among us in the brown coat with the metal buttons, and the shirt which

ought to be at wash, blinking, puffing, rolling his head, drumming with his fingers, tearing his meat like a tiger, and swallowing his tea in oceans. No human being who has been so long in the grave is so well known to us." Both in religion and in politics his convictions were of the strongest, often amounting to narrow prejudices: but he was always honest and independent, and, however rough externally, one of the most tender-hearted of men.

The literary period of which Johnson is a principal representative was pre-eminently an age of prose. The century which followed the Restoration saw the creation of a modern English prose style, "clear, plain and short," in place of the lengthy and complicated periods of Milton and the older writers. By Johnson's time the victory of the new style was already complete, and not in its own sphere only · it had invaded that of poetry, from which the same regularity, precision, and technical perfection were demanded. These qualities constitute what is generally understood by the term "correctness," so often applied to the writers of the 18th century. Macaulay, indeed, in the Essay on Moore's Life of Byron, has pointed out the ambiguity of the term "correctness." In one sense, he says, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Milton may be called the most correct of poets, because most careful to conform to rules which have their foundation in truth and in the principles of human nature. But this is not the sense in which Pope and his imitators are called the most correct of English poets; their correctness has reference to certain artificial rules and ceremonious observances, which in the case of Pope were redeemed by his brilliant wit and terseness of expression, but which sank in his successors into monotonous and mechanical feebleness, leading to the revolution in poetry inaugurated by Cowper and Wordsworth

Now Johnson took it for granted that the kind of poetry which flourished in his own time, and which he had himself written with some success, was the best kind. The poets whose lives he wrote include two of a high order, Milton and Gray but it is precisely these two whom he shows himself least able to appreciate. It is for Dryden and Pope that he reserves his highest praise. Common sense is the standard of judgment which he adopts, and the appeal to common sense was characteristic of his age. It was also an age of philosophic activity, of speculation on social and moral topics as they presented themselves to the man of ordinary common sense. The solutions, therefore, which the wits of the age produced for these problems, were not profound. It was sufficient that they should be brilliant or paradoxical. Johnson, as is well known, cared for no society or mode of life, except that of London, of country life and nature he knew nothing, taking it for granted, as Macaulay says, "that every body who lived in the country was either stupid or miserable." The descriptions of nature in his favourite poets are purely literary, and epigrammatic reflections on life, expressed in the heroic couplet as refined and polished by Pope, were to him the best type of poetry.

Yet we need not on that account hastily censure Johnson and his age for their views on the subject. The function of the 18th century was, as we have said, to create an English prose style, and into that service poetry also was pressed. "Such is the common course and law of progress, one thing is done at a time, and other things are sacrificed to it. Let us always bear in mind therefore that the century so well represented by Dryden, Addison, Pope, and Swift, is a century of prose. Johnson was himself a labourer in this great and needful work, and was ruled by its influences. His blame of genuine poets like Milton and Gray, his over-praise of artificial poets like Pope, are to be taken as the utterances of a man who worked for an age of prose. Of poetry he speaks as a man whose sense for that with which he is dealing is in some degree imperfect. Yet even on poetry Johnson's utterances are valuable, because they

are the utterances of a great and original man" (Matthew Arnold). He was in fact saved by his originality and his common sense from servile and pedantic submission to the rules of correct writing, laid down by the French and other critics; but when sympathy and imagination are required, he fails. How serious a deficiency this must necessarily imply in a critic of poetry, will be evident to any one who reflects that the world of imagination is precisely that in which the true poet moves.

III.

Johnson, then, in his criticisms of poetry, employs the standards of an essentially prosaic age: is his own prose style also representative of his age? Remembering the ridicule that has been aimed at "Johnsonese," we might say that it was not, but this would scarcely be correct. His *words* indeed are often long and pompous; but the *structure* of his sentences belongs essentially to that modern style, which we have already said was the creation of the century following the Restoration. If only he had written as he talked, his books would not have been consigned to that upper shelf on which most of them now repose. "It is clear," says Macaulay, "that Johnson himself did not think in the dialect in which he wrote. The expressions which came first to his tongue were simple, energetic, and picturesque. When he wrote for publication, he did his sentences out of English into Johnsonese." Sometimes we can see this process of translation actually taking place, as when he remarked, "the *Rehearsal* has not wit enough to keep it sweet," adding after a pause, "it has not vitality enough to preserve it from putrefaction." In much the same way he wrote of Milton that "his element is the great," adding immediately, "his natural port is gigantic loftiness."

Macaulay continues, "it is well known that he made less use than any other eminent writer of those strong plain

words, Anglo-Saxon or Norman-French, of which the roots lie in the inmost depths of our language; and that he felt a vicious partiality for terms which, long after our own speech had been fixed, were borrowed from the Greek and Latin " Such, no doubt, is the impression which some of Johnson's writings leave, but Macaulay's remarks are not altogether borne out by an actual analysis (quoted by Mr. Ryland), which gives 30 per cent of words of classical origin in 200 lines of the *Rambler*, and 28 per cent in the *Lives of the Poets*, as against 28 per cent. in Macaulay's own essays The fact is that Johnson is at his worst in his earlier compositions For several years before producing the *Lives* he wrote scarcely anything, and when he took up the pen again a good deal of his mannerism had evaporated, with the result that the style of the *Lives* is a nearer approach to that of his conversation than to that of the *Rambler* and *Rasselas*

Of the other defects of his style, the most prominent are his practice of "padding out" a sentence with unnecessary epithets, his harsh inversions, his careless use of the third personal pronouns, in such a way as to render his meaning wholly ambiguous, his love of abstract turns of expression instead of concrete; and his constant employment of antithetical clauses, even where there is no real opposition in the ideas Many of these epigrammatical antitheses are very striking, but their frequency tends to destroy their effect upon the reader

IV

The *Lives of the Poets* had their origin in the rivalry of the English and Scotch booksellers One of the latter had published at Edinburgh an edition of the British poets from Chaucer (died 1400) to Churchill (died 1764) whereupon the London booksellers, jealous of their prerogatives, combined to produce a rival edition To add to its attractions, Dr Johnson was invited to prefix to each poet's works a short

account of his life This was in 1777 when Johnson told Boswell that he had undertaken to write "little Lives and little Prefaces to a little edition of the English Poets." He did not choose the poets himself, though he added Blackmore and three others to the list supplied by the booksellers: and a large number of quite insignificant writers are included. Boswell, in fact, enquired of him if he would furnish a Preface and Life to "any dunce's works," if the booksellers asked him. "Yes, Sir," was Johnson's reply, "and say he was a dunce." However, the series includes six writers of prime importance, namely, Milton, Dryden, Swift, Addison, Pope and Gray.

Though the original intention had been to begin with Chaucer, the booksellers finally fixed upon Cowley as their starting point; and therefore Johnson was not required to treat of Chaucer, Spenser, or Shakespeare. This was no great loss, however; for the biographies of the older writers would have been necessarily scanty, and Johnson's criticism of them would have been inadequate, and by no means appreciative. As Southey said, the poets before the Restoration were to Johnson what the world before the Flood was to historians. There is, however, one regrettable omission, Goldsmith, about whom Johnson could have said much of interest; but a bookseller who possessed the copyright of some of his poems would not allow them to be included.

In an Advertisement prefixed to the original work Johnson says:—"The Booksellers having determined to publish a body of English Poetry, I was persuaded to promise them a Preface to the Works of each Author, an undertaking, as it was then presented to my mind, not very extensive or difficult. My purpose was only to have allotted to every Poet an Advertisement, like those which we find in the French Miscellanies, containing a few dates and a general character; but I have been led beyond my intention, I hope by the honest desire of giving useful pleasure . . . As this undertaking was occasional and unforeseen, I must be supposed to have engaged in it with less provision of materials than might have been accumulated by longer

premeditation" Johnson, however, had been a man of letters and a critic for many years, and "the task," as Macaulay remarks, "was one for which he was pre-eminently qualified. His knowledge of the literary history of England since the Restoration was unrivalled. That knowledge he had derived partly from books, and partly from sources which had long been closed, from old Grub Street traditions, from the talk of forgotten poetasters, and pamphleteers who had long been lying in parish vaults, from the recollections of such men as Cibber, who had mutilated the plays of two generations of dramatists, Orrery, who had been admitted to the society of Swift; and Savage, who had rendered services of no very honourable kind to Pope. The biographer, therefore, sat down to his task with a mind full of matter." Moreover, at first, at any rate, he entered with considerable vigour into the task of ascertaining and verifying details. Here many of his friends assisted him, and he mentions as worthy of special acknowledgment the loan (by the Duke of Newcastle) of the manuscript of Spence's *Anecdotes*.

The progress of the work can be traced in Johnson's letters, and in Boswell. The first Life written was that of Cowley, completed in December, 1777. Three more were completed before Easter, 1778, when he says, "I have written a little of the Lives of the Poets, I think with all my usual vigour." Dryden was finished in August, 1778, Milton about February, 1779. Sixteen more short Lives completed the first part, which was published together with the poems in March, 1779, and also separately in four small volumes. "Last week," he says, "I published the Lives of the Poets, written, I hope, in such a manner as may tend to the promotion of piety."

On April 6, 1780, he wrote to Mrs. Thrale that Addison and Prior were finished, by May 9th five or six more had been added. But on August 21st he informed Boswell that he had sat at home all the summer, "thinking to write the Lives, and a great part of the time only thinking." This indolence caused him to be pressed for time, and he willingly adopted a Life of Young by Croft, and tried, though

unsuccessfully, to get some other assistance of the same kind. However, in March, 1781, he finished the work, of which he says frankly that he wrote it in his "usual way—dilatorily and hastily, unwilling to work and working with vigour and haste." The second part, when published separately, filled six small volumes. In this manner the intended short prefaces or advertisements expanded into Johnson's last and greatest work; and in consequence the booksellers gave him four hundred guineas instead of the two hundred originally agreed on. "The fact is," said Johnson, "not that they have paid me too little, but that I have written too much." On the other hand, Malone remarks that Johnson's moderation in demanding so small a sum was extraordinary, as the booksellers would doubtless have readily given him a thousand, or even fifteen hundred, guineas.

Boswell complains that Johnson was not attentive to minute accuracy, and even neglected to correct mistakes pointed out to him in the first edition. "He knew his strength," says Cunningham, "and that the value of his work would not depend on the minute succession of facts, but on the characters, drawn as they would be from books and men, and marked with a happiness of illustration almost peculiar to himself." That some of his characters would be attacked was fully expected by the author, who remarked to Boswell that he would rather be attacked than unnoticed. Three Lives in particular caused an outcry, those of Milton, Gray, and Lord Lyttelton: but when Boswell referred to the matter, Johnson only replied, "Sir, I considered myself as entrusted with a certain portion of truth. I have given my opinion sincerely. Let them show where they think me wrong." The worst, undoubtedly, is the Life of Gray: the best, probably, are those of Dryden, Pope, and Cowley. The last named gave Johnson most trouble, and was in his opinion the best of all.

V

Of Johnson's treatment of the life of Pope, the poet of correctness and common sense who thoroughly appealed to his tastes, there is little to be said beyond what Boswell has told us:—"The life of Pope was written by Johnson *con amore*, both from the early possession which the writer had taken of his mind, and from the pleasure which he must have felt in for ever silencing all attempts to lessen his poetical fame, by demonstrating his excellence . I remember once to have heard Johnson say, "Sir, a thousand years may elapse before there shall appear another man with a power of versification equal to that of Pope "

Johnson had himself been befriended by Pope; he knew, or had met, many who had known Pope well, and he had access to Spence's large collection of anecdotes. Hence he had plenty of materials for the life, though he has not succeeded in escaping a good many of his usual inaccuracies, most of which are pointed out in the notes Boswell complains, in particular, of the censure passed on Lord Marchmont for the neglect of Pope's papers after his death; and this though both Boswell and Malone had drawn Johnson's attention to the fact that Bolingbroke was the sole literary executor. The mistake is the more curious since Johnson seems to have been very favourably impressed with Marchmont, with whom Boswell procured him an interview, as detailed in one of the notes. The indefatigable Scotchman even proposed to Lord Marchmont that he should revise Johnson's Life of Pope. "So," said the Earl, "you would put me in a dangerous situation. You know he knocked down Osborne, the bookseller."

With Warburton, Pope's commentator, Johnson was scarcely acquainted. Boswell, in fact, believed that they had only met once. But a great portion of such materials as Warburton might have supplied had already appeared in Ruffhead's *Life of Pope*, and so were accessible to Johnson. The latter's criticisms are on the whole just, and his narrative straightforward, being free from those chronological complications in which the dramatic period, at any rate, of the Life of Dryden is involved.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF POPE'S LIFE AND WRITINGS.

- 1688 Birth of Pope (May 21)
[William of Orange lands at Torbay, November 5 Flight of James II, December 11.]
- 1689 [Dryden succeeded by Shadwell as Poet-Laureate Swift goes to live with Sir W Temple. Birth of Lady Mary W Montagu.]
1690. Defeat of James II at the Boyne Locke's Essay on *Human Understanding*]
1692. [Death of Shadwell]
- 1693 [Congreve's first play, *The Old Bachelor*]
- 1694 Birth of Ralph Allen.
[Death of Queen Mary Swift ordained. Wottons' *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning*. Dryden's last play, *Love Triumphant*]
- 1696 Pope goes to school at Twyford for about a year.
[Colley Cibber's first play]
1697. [Dryden's *Virgil*, and *Alexander's Feast*. Dennis' first play.]
1698. Birth of Warburton, and of R. Savage.
- 1699 Birth of Spence
[Death of Sir W Temple Swift goes to Ireland with Lord Berkeley]
- 1700 Pope joins his father at Binfield
[Dryden's *Fables*, March. Death of Dryden, May 1. Rowe's first play]
- 1701 [Steele's *Christian Hero*]
- 1702 [Death of William III, March 8 Accession of Anne]
- 1704 Pope introduced to Sir W Trumball, and to Wycherley.
[Swift's *Tale of a Tub*, and *Battle of the Books*]

- 1705 Pope introduced to Walsh He begins to frequent Will's Coffee-house
1707. He begins to correspond with Cromwell
- 1708 [Resignation of Harley The Whigs in power]
- 1709 Pope's *Pastorals* published, together with those of Ambrose Philips
January and May
 Death of Walsh.
 [Steele's *Tatler* Dennis' *Appius and Virginia* Birth of Johnson, September 18]
- 1710 End of Pope's correspondence with Wycherley, and beginning of that with Caryl
 Death of Betterton, the actor
 [Fall of the Whigs, Harley and St John in power
 Leibnitz's *Théodicée* published]
- 1711 *Essay on Criticism* published *Ode on St. Cecilia* written.
 End of the Cromwell correspondence
 Pope becomes intimate with the Blounts
 Dennis' *Reflections on the Essay* (June).
 [Steele and Addison's *Spectator* Swift's *Conduct of the Allies* Harley made Earl of Oxford]
- 1712 *The Rape of the Lock*
The Messiah
 Translation of Statius, *Thebais*, 1, and of Ovid's *Epistle of Sappho to Phaon*
 Pope introduced to Addison by Steele
 [St John made Lord Bolingbroke]
- 1713 *Windsor Forest*
 Pope meets Swift and studies painting under Jervas
 Addison's *Cato*, acted April 14, Pope supplying a Prologue
 Dennis' *Remarks on Cato*
Narrative of the Frenzy of John Dennis
 Essay by Pope on Philips' *Pastorals* published in the *Guardian*
 [Swift made Dean of St Patrick's, and Atterbury Bishop of Rochester Steele's *Guardian* Peace of Utrecht]
- 1714 *Wife of Bath*
The Rape of the Lock, enlarged form
 [Oxford supplanted by Bolingbroke, July Death of Anne, and accession of George I, August Fall of the Tories Flight of Bolingbroke to France Rowe made Poet-Laureate]

- 1715 *The Temple of Fame*
Translation of the Iliad, vol. 1 Tickell's version published
 at the same time, leading to a quarrel between Pope
 and Addison
 Death of Wycherley, and of Lord Halifax
 [Walpole in power]
1716. Pope's family moves from Binfield to Chiswick
 Death of Sir W Trumball
 Lady Mary W Montagu goes to Constantinople
1717. *Discourse on Pastoral Poetry*
Elegy on an Unfortunate Lady.
Eloisa to Abelard
 Pope destroys his epic, *Alcander*.
 Death of his father (October)
 Dennis' Remarks on the *Homer*, *Windsor Forest*, and *Temple*
of Fame
 First Collected Edition of Pope's Works, in quarto.
Three Hours after Marriage, unsuccessful farce by Gay,
 Pope, and Arbuthnot
 [Walpole resigns office]
- 1718 Pope and his mother move to Twickenham.
 Death of Parnell, of Garth, and of Rowe
- 1719 Death of Addison James Craggs succeeds him as Secretary
 of State
- 1720 *Translation of the Iliad* completed
 The South Sea Bubble
1721. Death of Prior, and of Craggs.
 Addison's *Dialogues on Medals* published.
 Walpole returns to office
- 1722 Pope's lines on *Atticus* (Addison) first printed He edits
 Parnell's poems and quarrels with Lady M W
 Montagu about this time
 [Death of the great Duke of Marlborough]
- 1723 Pope at the trial of Bishop Atterbury, who is banished for
 Jacobitism
 [Bolingbroke allowed to return Death of Kneller]
1724. Death of Lord Oxford, and of Kyrle, the "Man of Ross."
 [Swift's *Diapier's Letters*]
1725. *Translation of the Odyssey*
 Pope's Edition of Shakespeare published.
1726. Theobald's *Shakespeare Restored*
 Spence's Essay on Pope's *Odyssey*.

- Curll publishes the correspondence of Pope and Cromwell
Swift visits England and stays with Pope
Pope upset in a coach (September)
[Swift's *Gulliver* Voltaire in England]
- 1727 Swift's last visit to Pope They publish their *Miscellanies*,
including Pope's treatise on the *Bathos*
Pope begins to attack Lord Hervey ("Sporus") about now
[Gay's *Fables* Death of George I, and accession of
George II Death of Newton]
- 1728 *The Dunciad*, 1—111
Death of Henry Cromwell
Dennis' Remarks on the *Rape of the Lock*
[Gay's *Beggars' Opera*]
- 1729 Death of Steele, and of Congreve
The *Dunciad* re-issued, with Notes, &c
- 1730 [Death of Fenton Cibber made Poet-Laureate]
- 1731 *Moral Essays*, 1v
- 1732 Death of Atterbury, and of Gay
1733. *Moral Essays*, 111 (January), 1 (February).
Imitation of Horace, Satire 1
Essay on Man, 1—111
Death of Pope's mother (June)
[Theobald's edition of Shakespeare]
- 1734 *Essay on Man*, 1v
Imitation of Horace, Satire 11
Death of Dennis
[Berkeley made Bishop of Cloyne]
- 1735 *Epistle to Arbuthnot* (January)
Death of Arbuthnot
Moral Essays, 11.
Donne's Satires Versified
End of Pope's correspondence with the Carylls
Publication of some of his correspondence by Curll, who is
summoned before the House of Lords
Dodsley's *Toyshop* produced by Pope's recommendation
1736. Pope makes the acquaintance of Allen.
Death of Caryll, of Jacob Tonson, and of Bernard Lintot
- 1737 *Imitations of Horace Epistles*, 1 I, 6 11 I, 2.
Authorised Edition of Pope's *Letters*
Crousaz criticises the *Essay on Man*
[Death of Queen Caroline Johnson comes to London]
- 1738 *Epilogue to the Satires*, or 1738 (Two Dialogues).

*The Universal Prayer*Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*, &c, privately printed[Johnson's *London*]1739. Warburton's defence of the *Essay on Man*1740 [Death of Tickell Cibber's *Apology for his Life*]1741 *Memoirs of Scitulerus*1742 *The Dunciad*, ivCibber's *Letter to Mr Pope*[Swift put under guardians Death of Bentley Walpole
retires, as Earl of Orford]1743. *The Dunciad* recast, with Cibber as its hero

Pope and Martha Blount quarrel with the Allens

[Death of Savage, and of Lord Hervey]

1744 Death of Pope, May 30

[Death of Theobald, of the Duke of Chandos, of Sarah,
Duchess of Marlborough]1745 Ayre's *Life of Pope*

1751 Warburton's edition of Pope's Works

1756 Joseph Warton's *Essay on Pope*1769. Ruffhead's *Life of Pope*

1779 Death of Warburton

1781 Johnson's *Life of Pope*

JOHNSON'S LIFE OF POPE.

ALEXANDER POPE was born in London, May 22nd, 1688, of parents whose rank or station was never ascertained: we are informed that they were of *gentle blood*; that his father was of a family of which the Earl of Downe was the head, and that his mother was the daughter of William Turner, Esquire, of York, who had likewise three sons, one of whom had the honour of being killed, and the other of dying, in the service of Charles the First; the third was made a general officer in Spain, from whom the sister inherited what sequestrations and forfeitures had left in the family.

This, and this only, is told by Pope; who is more willing, as I have heard observed, to shew what his father was not, than what he was. It is allowed that he grew rich by trade, but whether in a shop or on the Exchange was never discovered, till Mr. Tyers told, on the authority of Mrs Racket, that he was a linen-draper in the Strand. Both parents were papists

Pope was from his birth of a constitution tender and delicate; but is said to have shewn remarkable gentleness and sweetness of disposition. The weakness of his body continued through his life, but the mildness of his mind perhaps ended with his childhood. His voice, when he was young, was so pleasing that he was called in fondness the *little Nightingale*.

Being not sent early to school, he was taught to read by an aunt; and when he was seven or eight years old, became a lover of books. He first learned to write by imitating printed books; a species of penmanship in which he retained great excellence through his whole life, though his ordinary hand was not elegant.

When he was about eight, he was placed in Hampshire under Taverner, a Romish priest, who, by a method very rarely practised, taught him the Greek and Latin rudiments together. He was now

first regularly initiated in poetry by the perusal of Ogylby's "Homer," and Sandys's "Ovid." Ogylby's assistance he never repaid with any praise, but of Sandys he declared, in his notes to the "Iliad," that English poetry owed much of its present beauty to his translations. Sandys very rarely attempted original composition.

From the care of Taverner, under whom his proficiency was considerable, he was removed to a school at Twyford, near Winchester, again to another school about Hyde-park Corner, from which
10 he used sometimes to stroll to the playhouse, and was so delighted with theatrical exhibitions that he formed a kind of play from Ogylby's "Iliad," with some verses of his own intermixed, which he persuaded his schoolfellows to act, with the addition of his master's gardener, who personated Ajax.

At the two last schools he used to represent himself as having lost part of what Taverner had taught him, and on his master at Twyford he had already exercised his poetry in a lampoon. Yet under those masters he translated more than a fourth part of the "Metamorphoses." If he kept the same proportion in his other
20 exercises, it cannot be thought that his loss was great.

He tells of himself, in his poems, that he *hisp'd in numbers*, and used to say that he could not remember the time when he began to make verses. In the style of fiction it might have been said of him as of Pindar, that when he lay in his cradle *the bees swarmed about his mouth*.

About the time of the Revolution his father, who was undoubtedly disappointed by the sudden blast of Popish prosperity, quitted his trade, and retired to Binfield in Windsor Forest, with about twenty thousand pounds, for which, being conscientiously deter-
30 mined not to entrust it to the Government, he found no better use than that of locking it up in a chest, and taking from it what his expenses required, and his life was long enough to consume a great part of it, before his son came to the inheritance.

To Binfield Pope was called by his father when he was about twelve years old; and there he had, for a few months, the assistance of one Deane, another priest, of whom he learned only to construe a little of Tully's Offices. How Mr Deane could spend, with a boy who had translated so much of Ovid, some months over a small part of Tully's Offices, it is now vain to enquire.

40 Of a youth so successfully employed, and so conspicuously improved, a minute account must be naturally desired, but curiosity

must be contented with confused, imperfect, and sometimes improbable intelligence. Pope, finding little advantage from external help, resolved thenceforward to direct himself, and at twelve formed a plan of study which he completed with little other incitement than the desire of excellence.

His primary and principal purpose was to be a poet, with which his father accidentally concurred, by proposing subjects, and obliging him to correct his performances by many revisals; after which the old gentleman, when he was satisfied, would say, these are good rhymes

In his perusal of the English poets he soon distinguished the versification of Dryden, which he considered as the model to be studied, and was impressed with such veneration for his instructor, that he persuaded some friends to take him to the coffee-house which Dryden frequented, and pleased himself with having seen him.

Dryden died May 1, 1701, some days before Pope was twelve; so early must he therefore have felt the power of harmony and the zeal of genius. Who does not wish that Dryden could have known the value of the homage that was paid him, and foreseen the greatness of his young admirer?

The earliest of Pope's productions is his "Ode on Solitude," written before he was twelve, in which there is nothing more than other forward boys have attained, and which is not equal to Cowley's performances at the same age.

His time was now spent wholly in reading and writing. As he read the classics he amused himself with translating them; and at fourteen made a version of the first book of the "Thebais," which, with some revision, he afterwards published. He must have been at this time, if he had no help, a considerable proficient in the Latin tongue.

- 30

By Dryden's "Fables," which had then been not long published, and were much in the hands of poetical readers, he was tempted to try his own skill in giving Chaucer a more fashionable appearance, and put "January and May," and the "Prologue of the Wife of Bath," into modern English. He translated likewise the "Epistle of Sappho to Phaon" from Ovid, to complete the version, which was before imperfect, and wrote some other small pieces, which he afterwards printed.

He sometimes imitated the English poets, and professed to have written at fourteen his poem upon "Silence," after Rochester's 40

"Nothing" He had now formed his versification, and in the smoothness of his numbers surpassed his original but this is a small part of his praise, he discovers such acquaintance both with human life and public affairs, as is not easily conceived to have been attainable by a boy of fourteen in Windsor Forest

Next year he was desirous of opening to himself new sources of knowledge, by making himself acquainted with modern languages, and removed for a time to London, that he might study French and Italian, which, as he desired nothing more than to read them, were by diligent application soon despatched Of Italian learning he does not appear to have ever made much use in his subsequent studies

He then returned to Binfield, and delighted himself with his own poetry He tried all styles, and many subjects. He wrote a comedy, a tragedy, an epic poem, with panegyrics on all the princes of Europe, and, as he confesses, thought himself the greatest genius that ever was Self-confidence is the first requisite to great undertakings, he, indeed, who forms his opinion of himself in solitude, without knowing the powers of other men, is very liable to error, but it was the felicity of Pope to rate himself at his real value

Most of his puerile productions were, by his maturer judgment, afterwards destroyed, "Alcander," the epic poem, was burnt by the persuasion of Atterbury. The tragedy was founded on the legend of St Genevieve Of the comedy there is no account

Concerning his studies it is related that he translated Tully on Old Age, and that, besides his books of poetry and criticism, he read Temple's "Essays" and Locke "On Human Understanding" His reading, though his favourite authors are not known, appears to have been sufficiently extensive and multifarious, for his early pieces shew with sufficient evidence his knowledge of books

He that is pleased with himself easily imagines that he shall please others. Sir William Trumbal, who had been ambassador at Constantinople, and secretary of state, when he retired from business, fixed his residence in the neighbourhood of Binfield Pope, not yet sixteen, was introduced to the statesman of sixty, and so distinguished himself that their interviews ended in friendship and correspondence Pope was through his whole life ambitious of splendid acquaintance, and he seems to have wanted neither diligence nor success in attracting the notice of the great, for from his first entrance into the world, and his entrance was very early, he

was admitted to familiarity with those whose rank or station made them most conspicuous.

From the age of sixteen the life of Pope, as an author, may be properly computed. He now wrote his "Pastorals," which were shewn to the poets and critics of that time; as they well deserved, they were read with admiration, and many praises were bestowed upon them and upon the Preface, which is both elegant and learned in a high degree: they were, however, not published till five years afterwards.

Cowley, Milton, and Pope, are distinguished among the English poets by the early exertion of their powers; but the works of Cowley alone were published in his childhood, and therefore of him only can it be certain that his puerile performances received no improvement from his maturer studies.

At this time began his acquaintance with Wycherley, a man who seems to have had among his contemporaries his full share of reputation, to have been esteemed without virtue, and caressed without good-humour. Pope was proud of his notice: Wycherley wrote verses in his praise, which he was charged by Dennis with writing to himself and they agreed for a while to flatter one another. It is pleasant to remark how soon Pope learned the cant of an author, and began to treat critics with contempt, though he had yet suffered nothing from them.

But the fondness of Wycherley was too violent to last. His esteem of Pope was such that he submitted some poems to his revision; and when Pope, perhaps proud of such confidence, was sufficiently bold in his criticisms, and liberal in his alterations, the old scribbler was angry to see his pages defaced, and felt more pain from the detection than content from the amendment of his faults. They parted; but Pope always considered him with kindness, and visited him a little time before he died.

Another of his early correspondents was Mr. Cromwell, of whom I have learned nothing particular but that he used to ride a-hunting in a tye-wig. He was fond, and perhaps vain, of amusing himself with poetry and criticism; and sometimes sent his performances to Pope, who did not forbear such remarks as were now-and-then unwelcome. Pope, in his turn, put the juvenile version of "Statius" into his hands for correction.

Their correspondence afforded the public its first knowledge of Pope's epistolary powers; for his letters were given by Cromwell to 40

one Mrs Thomas, and she many years afterwards sold them to Curll, who inserted them in a volume of his "Miscellanies"

Walsh, a name yet preserved among the minor poets, was one of his best encouragers His regard was gained by the "Pastorals," and from him Pope received the counsel by which he seems to have regulated his studies Walsh advised him to correctness, which, as he told him, the English poets had hitherto neglected, and which therefore was left to him as a basis of fame, and, being delighted with rural poems, recommended to him to write a pastoral comedy, like those which are read so eagerly in Italy, a design which Pope probably did not approve, as he did not follow it

Pope had now declared himself a poet, and, thinking himself entitled to poetical conversation, began at seventeen to frequent Will's, a coffee-house on the north side of Russell-street in Covent-garden, where the wits of that time used to assemble, and where Dryden had, when he lived, been accustomed to preside

During this period of his life he was indefatigably diligent, and insatiably curious, wanting health for violent, and money for expensive pleasures, and having certainly excited in himself very strong desires of intellectual eminence, he spent much of his time over his books, but he read only to store his mind with facts and images, seizing all that his authors presented with undistinguishing voracity, and with an appetite for knowledge too eager to be nice In a mind like his, however, all the faculties were at once involuntarily improving Judgment is forced upon us by experience He that reads many books must compare one opinion or one style with another, and when he compares, must necessarily distinguish, reject, and prefer But the account given by himself of his studies was that from fourteen to twenty he read only for amusement, from twenty to twenty-seven for improvement and instruction, that in the first part of this time he desired only to know, and in the second he endeavoured to judge

The "Pastorals," which had been for some time handed about among poets and critics, were at last printed (1709) in Tonson's "Miscellany," in a volume which began with the "Pastorals" of Philips, and ended with those of Pope

The same year was written the "Essay on Criticism," a work which displays such extent of comprehension, such acuteness of distinction, such acquaintance with mankind, and such knowledge of both of ancient and modern learning, as are not often attained by the maturest age and longest experience It was published about

two years afterwards, and being praised by Addison in the "Spectator" with sufficient liberality, met with so much favour as enraged Dennis, "who," he says, "found himself attacked, without any manner of provocation on his side, and attacked in his person, instead of his writings, by one who was wholly a stranger to him, at a time when all the world knew he was persecuted by fortune; and not only saw that this was attempted in a clandestine manner, with the utmost falsehood and calumny, but found that all this was done by a little affected hypocrite, who had nothing in his mouth at the same time but truth, candour, friendship, goodnature, humanity, and magnanimity"

How the attack was clandestine is not easily perceived, nor how his person is depreciated, but he seems to have known something of Pope's character, in whom may be discovered an appetite to talk too frequently of his own virtues

The pamphlet 'is' such as rage might be expected to dictate. He supposes himself to be asked two questions, whether the "Essay" will succeed, and who or what is the author mc
an

Its success he admits to be secured by the false opinions then prevalent, the author he concludes to be young and raw. Dennis *fe*

"First, because he discovers a sufficiency beyond his little ability, and hath rashly undertaken a task infinitely above his force, Secondly, while this little author struts, and affects the dictatorial air, he plainly shews that at the same time he is under the rod; and while he pretends to give law to others, is a pedantic slave to authority and opinion Thirdly, he hath, like schoolboys, borrowed both from living and dead Fourthly, he knows not his own mind, and frequently contradicts himself. Fifthly, he is almost perpetually in the wrong "

All these positions he attempts to prove by quotations and remarks but his desire to do mischief is greater than his power. He has, however, justly criticised some passages, in these lines.

"There are whom Heaven has bless'd with store of wit
Yet want as much again to manage it,
For wit and judgment ever are at strife—"

it is apparent that *wit* has two meanings, and that what is wanted, though called *wit*, is truly judgment. So far Dennis is undoubtedly right; but, not content with argument, he will have a little mirth, and triumphs over the first couplet in terms too elegant to be forgotten. "By the way, what rare numbers are here? Would not 40

one swear that this youngster had espoused some antiquated Muse, who had sued out a divorce on account of impotence from some superannuated sinner; and, having been poxed by her former spouse, has got the gout in her decrepit age, which makes her hobble so damnably " This was the man who would reform a nation sinking into barbarity

In another place Pope himself allowed that Dennis had detected one of those blunders which are called *bulls* The first edition had this line

"What is this wit—

Where wanted, scorn'd, and envied where acquir'd?"

"How," says the critic, "can wit be *scorn'd* where it is not? Is not this a figure frequently employed in Hibernian land? The person that wants this wit may indeed be scorned, but the scorn shews the honour which the contemner has for wit" Of this remark Pope made the proper use, by correcting the passage

I have preserved, I think, all that is reasonable in Dennis's criticism, it remains that justice be done to his delicacy. "For his acquaintance (says Dennis) he names Mr Walsh, who had by no means the qualification which this author reckons absolutely necessary to a critic, it being very certain that he was, like this Essayer, a very indifferent poet, he loved to be well-dressed, and I remember a little young gentleman whom Mr Walsh used to take into his company, as a double foil to his person and capacity—Enquire between Sunninghill and Oakingham, for a young, short, squab gentleman, the very bow of the God of Love, and tell me whether he be a proper author to make personal reflections—He may extol the ancients, but he has reason to thank the gods that he was born a modern, for had he been born of Grecian parents, and his father consequently had by law had the absolute disposal of him, his life had been no longer than that of one of his poems, the life of half a day—Let the person of a gentleman of his parts be never so contemptible, his inward man is ten times more ridiculous; it being impossible that his outward form, though it be that of downright monkey, should differ so much from human shape, as his unthinking immaterial part does from human understanding" Thus began the hostility between Pope and Dennis, which, though it was suspended for a short time, never was appeased Pope seems, at first, to have attacked him wantonly, but though he always professed to despise him, he discovers, by mentioning him very often, that he felt his force or his venom

Of this Essay Pope declared that he did not expect the sale to be quick, because not one gentleman in sixty, even of liberal education, could understand it. The gentlemen and the education of that time seem to have been of a lower character than they are of this. He mentioned a thousand copies as a numerous impression *critici*

Dennis was not his only censurer, the zealous papists thought the monks treated with too much contempt, and Erasmus too studiously praised; but to these objections he had not much regard *a*

The Essay has been translated into French by Hamilton, author of the "Comte de Grammont," whose version was never printed, by Robotham, secretary to the King for Hanover, and by Resnel; and commented by Dr Warburton, who has discovered in it such order and connection as was not perceived by Addison, nor, as is said, intended by the author.

Almost every poem consisting of precepts is so far arbitrary and immethodical, that many of the paragraphs may change places with no apparent inconvenience, for of two or more positions, depending upon some remote and general principle, there is seldom any cogent reason why one should precede the other. But for the order in which they stand, whatever it be, a little ingenuity may easily give a reason. *It is possible, says Hooker, that by long circumduction from any one truth all truth may be inferred* Of all homogeneous truths at least, of all truths respecting the same general end, in whatever series they may be produced, a concatenation by intermediate ideas may be formed, such as, when it is once shewn, shall appear natural, but if this order be reversed, another mode of connection equally specious may be found or made. Aristotle is praised for naming Fortitude first of the cardinal virtues, as that without which no other virtue can steadily be practised, but he might with equal propriety have placed Prudence and Justice before it, since without Prudence Fortitude is mad; without Justice, it is mischievous

As the end of method is perspicuity, that series is sufficiently regular that avoids obscurity; and where there is no obscurity it will not be difficult to discover method

In the "Spectator" was published the "Messiah," which he first submitted to the perusal of Steele, and corrected in compliance with his criticisms

It is reasonable to infer from his letters that the verses on the "Unfortunate Lady" were written about the time when his Essay

was published The Lady's name and adventures I have sought with fruitless enquiry

I can therefore tell no more than I have learned from Mr Ruffhead, who writes with the confidence of one who could trust his information She was a woman of eminent rank and large fortune, the ward of an uncle, who, having given her a proper education, expected like other guardians that she should make at least an equal match, and such he proposed to her, but found it rejected in favour of a young gentleman of inferior condition

10 Having discovered the correspondence between the two lovers, and finding the young lady determined to abide by her own choice, he supposed that separation might do what can rarely be done by arguments, and sent her into a foreign country, where she was obliged to converse only with those from whom her uncle had nothing to fear

Her lover took care to repeat his vows, but his letters were intercepted and carried to her guardian, who directed her to be watched with still greater vigilance, till of this restraint she grew so impatient, that she bribed a woman-servant to procure her a
20 sword, which she directed to her heart

From this account, given with evident intention to raise the lady's character, it does not appear that she had any claim to praise, nor much to compassion She seems to have been impatient, violent, and ungovernable Her uncle's power could not have lasted long, the hour of liberty and choice would have come in time But her desires were too hot for delay, and she liked self-murder better than suspense

Nor is it discovered that the uncle, whoever he was, is with much justice delivered to posterity as a *false guardian*, he seems to have
30 done only that for which a guardian is appointed, he endeavoured to direct his niece till she should be able to direct herself. Poetry has not often been worse employed than in dignifying the amorous fury of a raving girl

Not long after, he wrote the "Rape of the Lock," the most airy the most ingenious, and the most delightful of all his compositions, occasioned by a frolic of gallantry, rather too familiar, in which Lord Petre cut off a lock of Mrs Arabella Fermor's hair This, whether stealth or violence, was so much resented, that the commerce of the two families, before very friendly, was interrupted Mr
40 Caryl, a gentleman who, being secretary to King James's Queen, had followed his mistress into France, and who, being the author

of "Sir Solomon Single," a comedy, and some translations, was entitled to the notice of a wit, solicited Pope to endeavour a reconciliation by a ludicrous poem, which might bring both the parties to a better temper. In compliance with Caryl's request, though his name was for a long time marked only by the first and last letter, C—I, a poem of two cantos was written (1711), as is said, in a fortnight, and sent to the offended lady, who liked it well enough to shew it, and, with the usual process of literary transactions, the author, dreading a surreptitious edition, was forced to publish it

The event is said to have been such as was desired, the pacification and diversion of all to whom it related, except Sir George Brown, who complained with some bitterness that, in the character of Sir Plume, he was made to talk nonsense. Whether all this be true, I have some doubts; for at Paris, a few years ago, a niece of Mrs. Fermor, who presided in an English convent, mentioned Pope's work with very little gratitude, rather as an insult than an honour; and she may be supposed to have inherited the opinion of her family.

At its first appearance it was termed by Addison *merum sal*. Pope, however, saw that it was capable of improvement, and, having luckily contrived to borrow his machinery from the Rosicrucians, imparted the scheme with which his head was teeming to Addison, who told him that his work, as it stood, was a *delicious little thing*, and gave him no encouragement to retouch it.

This has been too hastily considered as an instance of Addison's jealousy, for as he could not guess the conduct of the new design, or the possibilities of pleasure comprised in a fiction of which there had been no examples, he might very reasonably and kindly persuade the author to acquiesce in his own prosperity, and forbear an attempt which he considered as an unnecessary hazard.

Addison's counsel was happily rejected. Pope foresaw the future efflorescence of imagery then budding in his mind, and resolved to spare no art, or industry of cultivation. The soft luxuriance of his fancy was already shooting, and all the gay varieties of diction were ready at his hand to colour and embellish it.

His attempt was justified by its success. The "Rape of the Lock" stands forward, in the classes of literature, as the most exquisite example of ludicrous poetry. Berkeley congratulated him upon the display of powers more truly poetical than he had shewn before; with elegance of description and justness of precepts, he had now exhibited boundless fertility of invention.

He always considered the intermixture of the machinery with the action as his most successful exertion of poetical art. He indeed could never afterwards produce any thing of such unexampled excellence. Those performances, which strike with wonder, are combinations of skilful genius with happy casualty, and it is not likely that any felicity like the discovery of a new race of preternatural agents should happen twice to the same man.

Of this poem the author was, I think, allowed to enjoy the praise for a long time without disturbance. Many years afterwards
 10 Dennis published some remarks upon it, with very little force, and with no effect, for the opinion of the public was already settled, and it was no longer at the mercy of criticism.

About this time he published the "Temple of Fame," which, as he tells Steele in their correspondence, he had written two years before, that is, when he was only twenty-two years old, an early time of life for so much learning and so much observation as that work exhibits.

On this poem Dennis afterwards published some remarks, of which the most reasonable is that some of the lines represent *motion*
 20 as exhibited by *sculpture*.

Of the "Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard" I do not know the date. His first inclination to attempt a composition of that tender kind arose, as Mr. Savage told me, from his perusal of Prior's "Nut-brown Maid." How much he has surpassed Prior's work it is not necessary to mention, when perhaps it may be said with justice that he has excelled every composition of the same kind. The mixture of religious hope and resignation gives an elevation and dignity to disappointed love, which images merely natural cannot bestow. The gloom of a convent strikes the imagination with far greater force
 30 than the solitude of a grove.

This piece was, however, not much his favourite in his latter years, though I never heard upon what principle he slighted it.

In the next year (1713) he published "Windsor Forest," of which part was, as he relates, written at sixteen, about the same time as his Pastorals, and the latter part was added afterwards where the addition begins we are not told. The lines relating to the Peace confess their own date. It is dedicated to Lord Lansdowne, who was then high in reputation and influence among the Tories, and it is said that the conclusion of the poem gave great
 40 pain to Addison, both as a poet and a politician. Reports like this are often spread with boldness very disproportionate to their evidence.

Why should Addison receive any particular disturbance from the last lines of "Windsor Forest?" If contrariety of opinion could poison a politician, he would not live a day; and, as a poet, he must have felt Pope's force of genius much more from many other parts of his works.

The pain that Addison might feel it is not likely that he would confess; and it is certain that he so well suppressed his discontent that Pope now thought himself his favourite, for having been consulted in the revival of "Cato," he introduced it by a Prologue; and, when Dennis published his Remarks, undertook not indeed to vindicate but to revenge his friend, by a "Narrative of the Frenzy of John Dennis" 10

There is reason to believe that Addison gave no encouragement to this disingenuous hostility; for, says Pope in a letter to him, "indeed your opinion, that 'tis entirely to be neglected, would be my own in my own case; but I felt more warmth here than I did when I first saw his book against myself (though indeed in two minutes it made me heartily merry)." Addison was not a man on whom such cant of sensibility could make much impression. He left the pamphlet to itself, having disowned it to Dennis, and perhaps did 20 not think Pope to have deserved much by his officiousness.

This year was printed in the "Guardian" the ironical comparison between the Pastorals of Philips and Pope, a composition of artifice, criticism, and literature, to which nothing equal will easily be found. The superiority of Pope is so ingeniously dissembled, and the feeble lines of Philips so skilfully preferred, that Steele, being deceived, was unwilling to print the paper lest Pope should be offended. Addison immediately saw the writer's design, and, as it seems, had malice enough to conceal his discovery, and to permit a publication which, by making his friend Philips ridiculous, made him 30 for ever enemy to Pope.

It appears that about this time Pope had a strong inclination to unite the art of painting with that of poetry, and put himself under the tuition of Jervas. He was near-sighted, and therefore not formed by nature for a painter. He tried, however, how far he could advance, and sometimes persuaded his friends to sit. A picture of Betterton, supposed to be drawn by him, was in the possession of Lord Mansfield. If this was taken from the life, he must have begun to paint earlier, for Betterton was now dead. Pope's ambition of this new art produced some encomiastic verses 40 to Jervas, which certainly shew his power as a poet, but I have been told that they betray his ignorance of painting.

He appears to have regarded Betterton with kindness and esteem, and after his death published, under his name, a version into modern English of Chaucer's Prologue, and one of his Tales, which, as was related by Mr Harte, were believed to have been the performance of Pope himself by Fenton, who made him a gay offer of five pounds, if he would shew them in the hand of Betterton

The next year (1713) produced a bolder attempt, by which profit was sought as well as praise. The poems which he had hitherto written, however they might have diffused his name, had made very
 10 little addition to his fortune. The allowance which his father made him, though, proportioned to what he had, it might be liberal, could not be large, his religion hindered him from the occupation of any civil employment, and he complained that he wanted even money to buy books

He therefore resolved to try how far the favour of the public extended, by soliciting a subscription to a version of the "Iliad," with large notes

To print by subscription was, for some time, a practice peculiar to the English. The first considerable work for which this expedi-
 20 ent was employed is said to have been Dryden's "Virgil," and it had been tried again with great success when the "Tatlers" were collected into volumes

There was reason to believe that Pope's attempt would be successful. He was in the full bloom of reputation, and was personally known to almost all whom dignity of employment or splendour of reputation had made eminent, he conversed indifferently with both parties, and never disturbed the public with his political opinions, and it might be naturally expected, as each faction then boasted its literary zeal, that the great men, who on other occasions practised
 30 all the violence of opposition, would emulate each other in their encouragement of a poet who had delighted all, and by whom none had been offended

With those hopes he offered an English "Iliad" to subscribers, in six volumes in quarto, for six guineas, a sum, according to the value of money at that time, by no means inconsiderable, and greater than I believe to have been ever asked before. His proposal, however, was very favourably received, and the patrons of literature were busy to recommend his undertaking, and promote his interest. Lord Oxford, indeed, lamented that such a genius should be
 40 wasted upon a work not original, but proposed no means by which he might live without it. Addison recommended caution and

moderation, and advised him not to be content with the praise of half the nation, when he might be universally favoured.

The greatness of the design, the popularity of the author, and the attention of the literary world, naturally raised such expectations of the future sale that the booksellers made their offers with great eagerness, but the highest bidder was Bernard Lintot, who became proprietor on condition of supplying, at his own expense, all the copies which were to be delivered to subscribers, or presented to friends, and paying two hundred pounds for every volume

Of the quartos it was, I believe, stipulated that none should be 10 printed but for the author, that the subscription might not be depreciated; but Lintot impressed the same pages upon a small folio, and paper perhaps a little thinner, and sold exactly at half the price, for half a guinea each volume, books so little inferior to the quartos that, by a fraud of trade, those folios, being afterwards shortened by cutting away the top and bottom, were sold as copies printed for the subscribers

Lintot printed two hundred and fifty on royal paper in folio for two guineas a volume, of the small folio, having printed seventeen hundred and fifty copies of the first volume, he reduced the number 20 in the other volumes to a thousand

It is unpleasant to relate that the bookseller, after all his hopes and all his liberality, was, by a very unjust and illegal action, defrauded of his profit. An edition of the English "Iliad" was printed in Holland in duodecimo, and imported clandestinely for the gratification of those who were impatient to read what they could not yet afford to buy. This fraud could only be counteracted by an edition equally cheap and more commodious; and Lintot was compelled to contract his folio at once into a duodecimo, and lose the advantage of an intermediate gradation. The notes, which in the 30 Dutch copies were placed at the end of each book, as they had been in the large volumes, were now subjoined to the text in the same page, and are therefore more easily consulted. Of this edition two thousand five hundred were first printed, and five thousand a few weeks afterwards; but indeed great numbers were necessary to produce considerable profit.

Pope, having now emitted his proposals, and engaged not only his own reputation, but in some degree that of his friends who patronised his subscription, began to be frightened at his own undertaking; and finding himself at first embarrassed with difficulties, 40 which retarded and oppressed him, he was for a time timorous and

uneasy; had his nights disturbed by dreams of long journeys through unknown ways, and wished, as he said, *that somebody would hang him*

This misery, however, was not of long continuance, he grew by degrees more acquainted with Homer's images and expressions, and practice increased his facility of versification. In a short time he represents himself as dispatching regularly fifty verses a day, which would shew him by an easy computation the termination of his labour

10 His own diffidence was not his only vexation. He that asks a subscription soon finds that he has enemies. All who do not encourage him defame him. He that wants money will rather be thought angry than poor, and he that wishes to save his money conceals his avarice by his malice. Addison had hinted his suspicion that Pope was too much a Tory, and some of the Tories suspected his principles because he had contributed to the "Guardian," which was carried on by Steele

To those who censured his politics were added enemies yet more dangerous, who called in question his knowledge of Greek, and his
20 qualifications for a translator of Homer. To these he made no public opposition, but in one of his letters escapes from them as well as he can. At an age like his, for he was not more than twenty-five, with an irregular education, and a course of life of which much seems to have passed in conversation, it is not very likely that he overflowed with Greek. But when he felt himself deficient he sought assistance, and what man of learning would refuse to help him? Minute enquiries into the force of words are less necessary in translating Homer than other poets, because his
30 positions are general, and his representations natural, with very little dependence on local or temporary customs, on those changeable scenes of artificial life, which, by mingling original with accidental notions, and crowding the mind with images which time effaces, produce ambiguity in diction, and obscurity in books. To this open display of unadulterated nature it must be ascribed that Homer has fewer passages of doubtful meaning than any other poet, either in the learned or in modern languages. I have read of a man, who being, by his ignorance of Greek, compelled to gratify his curiosity with the Latin printed on the opposite page, declared that from the rude simplicity of the lines literally rendered he form-
40 ed nobler ideas of the Homeric majesty, than from the laboured elegance of polished versions.

Those literal translations were always at hand, and from them he could easily obtain his author's sense with sufficient certainty; and among the readers of Homer the number is very small of those who find much in the Greek more than in the Latin, except the music of the numbers.

If more help was wanting, he had the poetical translation of Eobanus Hessus, an unwearied writer of Latin verses; he had the French Homers of La Valterie and Dacier, and the English of Chapman, Hobbes, and Ogylby. With Chapman, whose work, though now totally neglected, seems to have been popular almost to the 10 end of the last century, he had very frequent consultations, and perhaps never translated any passage till he had read his version, which indeed he has been sometimes suspected of using instead of the original.

Notes were likewise to be provided; for the six volumes would have been very little more than six pamphlets without them. What the mere perusal of the text could suggest, Pope wanted no assistance to collect or methodize but more was necessary; many pages were to be filled, and learning must supply materials to wit and judgment. Something might be gathered from Dacier, but no man 20 loves to be indebted to his contemporaries, and Dacier was accessible to common readers. Eustathius was therefore necessarily consulted. To read Eustathius, of whose work there was then no Latin version, I suspect Pope, if he had been willing, not to have been able; some other was therefore to be found, who had leisure as well as abilities; and he was doubtless most readily employed who would do much work for little money.

The history of the notes has never been traced. Broome, in his preface to his poems, declares himself the commentator *in part upon the Iliad*; and it appears from Fenton's letter, preserved in 30 the Museum, that Broome was at first engaged in consulting Eustathius; but that after a time, whatever was the reason, he desisted. Another man of Cambridge was then employed, who soon grew weary of the work; and a third, that was recommended by Thirlby, is now discovered to have been Jortin, a man since well known to the learned world, who complained that Pope, having accepted and approved his performance, never testified any curiosity to see him, and who professed to have forgotten the terms on which he worked. The terms which Fenton uses are very mercantile. *I think at first sight that his performance is very commendable, and have sent word for 40 him to finish the 17th book, and to send it with his demands for his*

trouble I have here enclosed the specimen, if the rest come before you return, I will keep them till I receive your order

Broome then offered his service a second time, which was probably accepted, as they had afterwards a closer correspondence. Parnell contributed the *Life of Homer*, which Pope found so harsh that he took great pains in correcting it, and by his own diligence, with such help as kindness or money could procure him, in somewhat more than five years he completed his version of the "*Iliad*," with the notes. He began it in 1712, his twenty-fifth year, and concluded it in 1718, his thirtieth year.

When we find him translating fifty lines a day, it is natural to suppose that he would have brought his work to a more speedy conclusion. The "*Iliad*," containing less than sixteen thousand verses, might have been despatched in less than three hundred and twenty days, by fifty verses in a day. The notes, compiled with the assistance of his mercenaries, could not be supposed to require more time than the text. According to this calculation the progress of Pope may seem to have been slow, but the distance is commonly very great between actual performances and speculative possibility.

It is natural to suppose that as much as has been done to-day may be done to-morrow, but on the morrow some difficulty emerges, or some external impediment obstructs. Indolence, interruption, business, and pleasure, all take their turns of retardation, and every long work is lengthened by a thousand causes that can, and ten thousand that cannot, be recounted. Perhaps no extensive and multifarious performance was ever effected within the term originally fixed in the undertaker's mind. He that runs against Time has an antagonist not subject to casualties.

The encouragement given to this translation, though report seems to have over-rated it, was such as the world has not often seen. The subscribers were five hundred and seventy-five. The copies for which subscriptions were given were six hundred and fifty-four, and only six hundred and sixty were printed. For these copies Pope had nothing to pay, he therefore received, including the two hundred pounds a volume, five thousand three hundred and twenty pounds four shillings, without deduction, as the books were supplied by Lintot.

By the success of his subscription Pope was relieved from those pecuniary distresses with which, notwithstanding his popularity, he had hitherto struggled. Lord Oxford had often lamented his disqualification for public employment, but never proposed a

pension. While the translation of Homer was in its progress, Mr. Craggs, then secretary of state, offered to procure him a pension, which, at least during his ministry, might be enjoyed with secrecy. This was not accepted by Pope, who told him, however, that if he should be pressed with want of money he would send to him for occasional supplies. Craggs was not long in power, and was never solicited for money by Pope, who disdained to beg what he did not want

With the product of this subscription, which he had too much discretion to squander, he secured his future life from want by 10 considerable annuities. The estate of the Duke of Buckingham was found to have been charged with five hundred pounds a year, payable to Pope, which doubtless his translation enabled him to purchase.

It cannot be unwelcome to literary curiosity that I deduce thus minutely the history of the English "Iliad." It is certainly the noblest version of poetry which the world has ever seen; and its publication must therefore be considered as one of the great events in the annals of learning.

To those who have skill to estimate the excellence and difficulty 20 of this great work it must be very desirable to know how it was performed, and by what gradations it advanced to correctness. Of such an intellectual process the knowledge has very rarely been attainable; but happily there remains the original copy of the "Iliad," which, being obtained by Bolingbroke as a curiosity, descended from him to Mallet, and is now by the solicitation of the late Dr. Maty repositied in the Museum.

Between this manuscript, which is written upon accidental fragments of paper, and the printed edition, there must have been an intermediate copy, that was perhaps destroyed as it returned 30 from the press.

From the first copy I have procured a few transcripts, and shall exhibit first the printed lines, then, in a smaller print, those of the manuscripts, with all their variations. Those words in the small print which are given in Italics are cancelled in the copy, and the words placed under them adopted in their stead

The beginning of the first book stands thus—

The wrath of Peleus' son, the direful spring
Of all the Grecian woes, O Goddess, sing,
That wrath which hurl'd to Pluto's gloomy reign
The souls of mighty chiefs untimely slain.

And Troy's proud walls lie level with the ground,
 May Jove restore you, when your toils are o'er,
 Safe to the pleasures of your native shore

To all he sued, but chief implor'd for grace
 The brother kings of Atreus' royal race
Ye sons of Atreus, may your vows be crown'd,
Kings and warriors
Your labours, by the Gods be all your labours crown'd,
So may the Gods your arms with conquest bless,
 And Troy's proud walls lie level with the ground,
Till laid
And crown your labours with deserv'd success,
 May Jove restore you, when your toils are o'er,
 Safe to the pleasures of your native shore

10

But, oh! relieve a wretched parent's pain,
 And give Chryseis to these arms again,
 If mercy fail, yet let my present move,
 And dread avenging Phœbus, son of Jove

But, oh! relieve a hapless parent's pain,
 And give my daughter to these arms again,
Receive my gifts, if mercy fails, yet let my present move,
 And fear the God that deals his darts around,
 avenging Phœbus, son of Jove

20

The Greeks, in shouts, their joint assent declare
 The priest to reverence, and release the fair
 Not so Atreides he, with kingly pride,
 Repuls'd the sacred Sire, and thus reply'd

He said, the Greeks their joint assent declare,
The father said, the gen'rous Greeks relent,
 T' accept the ransom, and release the fair
Revere the priest, and speak their joint assent
 Not so the tyrant, he, with kingly pride,
 Atreides,

30

Repuls'd the sacred Sire, and thus reply'd
 [Not so the tyrant DRYDEN]

Of these lines, and of the whole first book, I am told that there was yet a former copy, more varied, and more deformed with interlineations

The beginning of the second book varies very little from the printed page, and is therefore set down without any parallel the 40 few slight differences do not require to be elaborately displayed

Now pleasing sleep had seal'd each mortal eye,
 Stretch'd in their tents the Grecian leaders lie,
 Th' Immortals slumber'd on their thrones above,
 All but the ever-watchful eye of Jove
 To honour Thetis' son he bends his care,
 And plunge the Greeks in all the woes of war
 Then bids an empty phantom rise to sight,
 And thus commands the vision of the night
 directs

50

From his broad buckler flash'd the living ray,
 High on his helm celestial lightnings play,
 His beamy shield emits a living ray
 The Goddess with her breath the flame supplies,
 Bright as the star whose fires in Autumn rise ,
 Her breath divine thick streaming flames supplies,
 Bright as the star that fires the autumnal skies
 Th' unwearied blaze incessant streams supplies,
 Like the red star that fires th' autumnal skies

When first he rears his radiant orb to sight, 10
 And bath'd in ocean shoots a keener light
 Such glories Pallas on the chief bestow'd,
 Such from his arms the fierce effulgence flow'd ,
 Onward she drives him furious to engage,
 Where the fight burns, and where the thickest rage.

When fresh he rears his radiant orb to sight,
 And gilds old Ocean with a blaze of light,
 Bright as the star that fires th' autumnal skies,
 Fresh from the deep, and gilds the seas and skies
 Such glories Pallas on her chief bestow'd,
 Such sparkling rays from his bright armour flow'd, 20
 Such from his arms the fierce effulgence flow'd.

Onward she drives him *headlong* to engage,
furious
 Where the *war bleeds*, and where the *fiercest* rage
fight burns, thickest

The sons of Dares first the combat sought,
 A wealthy priest, but rich without a fault ,
 In Vulcan's fane the father's days were led,
 The sons to toils of glorious battle bred , 30

There liv'd a Trojan—Dares was his name,
 The priest of Vulcan, rich, yet void of blame ,
 The sons of Dares first the combat sought,
 A wealthy priest, but rich without a fault

Conclusion of Book VIII, v. 687.

As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,
 O'er heaven's clear azure spreads her sacred light ,
 When not a breath disturbs the deep serene,
 And not a cloud o'ercasts the solemn scene ,
 Around her throne the vivid planets roll, 40
 And stars unnumber'd gild the glowing pole
 O'er the dark trees a yellower verdure shed,
 And tip with silver every mountain's head ,
 Then shine the vales—the rocks in prospect rise,
 A flood of glory bursts from all the skies ,
 The conscious swains, rejoicing in the sight,
 Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light
 So many flames before proud Ilion blaze,
 And lighten glimmering Xanthus with their rays ,
 The long reflexions of the distant fires
 Glean on the walls, and tremble on the spires 50
 A thousand piles the dusky horrors gild,
 And shoot a shady lustre o'er the field ,

Full fifty guards each flaming pile attend,
Whose umber'd arms by fits thick flashes send,
Loud neigh the coursers o'er their heaps of corn,
And ardent warriors wait the rising morn

As when in stillness of the silent night,
As when the moon in all her lustre bright,
As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,
O'er heaven's *clear* azure *sheds* her *silver* light,
pure spreads sacred

10 As still in air the trembling lustre stood,
And o'er its golden border shoots a flood,
When *no loose gale* disturbs the deep serene,
not a breath
And *no dim* cloud o'ercasts the solemn scene,
not a

Around her silver throne the planets glow,
And stars unnumber'd trembling beams bestow,
Around her throne the vivid planets roll,
And stars unnumber'd gild the glowing pole
20 Clear gleams of light o'er the dark trees are seen,
o'er the dark trees a yellow sheds,
O'er the dark trees a yellower *green* they shed,
gleam
verdure

And tip with silver all the *mountain* heads
forest

And tip with silver every mountain's head
The vales open, and the forests rise,
The vales appear, the rocks in prospect rise,
30 Then shine the vales, the rocks in prospect rise,
All Nature stands reveal'd before our eyes,
A flood of glory bursts from all the skies
The conscious shepherd, joyful at the sight,
Eyes the blue vault, and numbers every light
The conscious *swains rejoicing at the sight*
shepherds gazing with delight
Eye the blue vault, and bless the *vivid* light
glorious

40 So many flames before *the navy* blaze,
useful
proud Ilion

And lighten glimmering Xanthus with their rays,
Wide o'er the fields to Troy extend the gleams,
And tip the distant spires with fainter beams,
The long reflexions of the distant fires
Gild the high walls, and tremble on the spires,
Gleam on the walls, and tremble on the spires,
A thousand fires at distant stations bright,
Gild the dark prospect, and dispel the night

50 Of these specimens every man who has cultivated poetry, or who delights to trace the mind from the rudeness of its first conceptions to the elegance of its last, will naturally desire a greater number, but most other readers are already tired,*and I am not writing only to poets and philosophers

The "Iliad" was published volume by volume, as the translation proceeded; the four first books appeared in 1715. The expectation of this work was undoubtedly high, and every man who had connected his name with criticism or poetry was desirous of such intelligence as might enable him to talk upon the popular topic Halifax, who, by having been first a poet, and then a patron of poetry, had acquired the right of being a judge, was willing to hear some books while they were yet unpublished. Of this rehearsal Pope afterwards gave the following account.—

"The famous Lord Halifax was rather a pretender to taste than 10 really possessed of it.—When I had finished the two or three first books of my translation of the 'Iliad,' that Lord desired to have the pleasure of hearing them read at his house—Addison, Congreve, and Garth were there at the reading. In four or five places Lord Halifax stopt me very civilly, and with a speech each time, much of the same kind, 'I beg your pardon, Mr. Pope, but there is something in that passage that does not quite please me.—Be so good as to mark the place, and consider it a little at your leisure—I'm sure you can give it a little turn' I returned from Lord Halifax's with Dr Garth, in his chariot; and, as we were going along, 20 was saying to the Doctor that my Lord had laid me under a good deal of difficulty by such loose and general observations, that I had been thinking over the passages almost ever since, and could not guess at what it was that offended his Lordship in either of them. Garth laughed heartily at my embarrassment; said, I had not been long enough acquainted with Lord Halifax to know his way yet, that I need not puzzle myself about looking those places over and over, when I got home. 'All you need do (says he) is to leave them just as they are; call on Lord Halifax two or three months hence, thank him for his kind observations on those passages, and then 30 read them to him as altered. I have known him much longer than you have, and will be answerable for the event' I followed his advice, waited on Lord Halifax some time after, said, I hoped he would find his objections to those passages removed; read them to him exactly as they were at first, and his Lordship was extremely pleased with them, and cried out, *Ay, now they are perfectly right nothing can be better*"

It is seldom that the great or the wise suspect that they are despised or cheated. Halifax, thinking this a lucky opportunity of securing immortality, made some advances of favour and some 40 overtures of advantage to Pope, which he seems to have received with sullen coldness. All our knowledge of this transaction is

derived from a single letter (Dec 1, 1714), in which Pope says, "I am obliged to you, both for the favours you have done me, and those you intend me I distrust neither your will nor your memory, when it is to do good, and if I ever become troublesome or solicitous, it must not be out of expectation, but out of gratitude Your Lordship may cause me to live agreeably in the town, or contentedly in the country, which is really all the difference I set between an easy fortune and a small one It is indeed a high strain of generosity in you to think of making me easy all my life, only because I have been so happy as to divert you some few hours, but, if I may have leave to add it is because you think me no enemy to my native country, there will appear a better reason, for I must of consequence be very much (as I sincerely am) yours, &c"

These voluntary offers, and this faint acceptance, ended without effect. The patron was not accustomed to such frigid gratitude, and the poet fed his own pride with the dignity of independence They probably were suspicious of each other Pope would not dedicate till he saw at what rate his praise was valued, he would be *trouble-*
some out of gratitude, not expectation Halifax thought himself entitled to confidence, and would give nothing, unless he knew what he should receive Their commerce had its beginning in hope of praise on one side, and of money on the other, and ended because Pope was less eager of money than Halifax of praise It is not likely that Halifax had any personal benevolence to Pope, it is evident that Pope looked on Halifax with scorn and hatred

The reputation of this great work failed of gaining him a patron, but it deprived him of a friend Addison and he were now at the head of poetry and criticism; and both in such a state of elevation that, like the two rivals in the Roman state, one could no longer bear an equal, nor the other a superior. Of the gradual abatement of kindness between friends the beginning is often scarcely discernible by themselves, and the process is continued by petty provocations, and incivilities sometimes peevishly returned, and sometimes contemptuously neglected, which would escape all attention but that of pride, and drop from any memory but that of resentment That the quarrel of these two wits should be minutely deduced is not to be expected from a writer to whom, as Homer says, *nothing but rumour has reached, and who has no personal know-*
ledge

Pope doubtless approached Addison, when the reputation of their wit first brought them together, with the respect due to a man

whose abilities were acknowledged, and who, having attained that eminence to which he was himself aspiring, had in his hands the distribution of literary fame. He paid court with sufficient diligence by his Prologue to "Cato," by his abuse of Dennis, and, with praise yet more direct, by his poem on the "Dialogues on Medals," of which the immediate publication was then intended. In all this there was no hypocrisy; for he confessed that he found in Addison something more pleasing than in any other man.

It may be supposed that as Pope saw himself favoured by the world, and more frequently compared his own powers with those of 10 others, his confidence increased, and his submission lessened, and that Addison felt no delight from the advances of a young wit, who might soon contend with him for the highest place. Every great man, of whatever kind be his greatness, has among his friends those who officiously, or insidiously, quicken his attention to offences, heighten his disgust, and stimulate his resentment. Of such adherents Addison doubtless had many, and Pope was now too high to be without them.

From the emission and reception of the Proposals for the "Iliad" the kindness of Addison seems to have abated. Jervas the painter 20 once pleased himself (Aug. 20, 1714) with imagining that he had re-established their friendship, and wrote to Pope that Addison once suspected him of too close a confederacy with Swift, but was now satisfied with his conduct. To this Pope answered, a week after, that his engagements to Swift were such as his services in regard to the subscription demanded, and that the Tories never put him under the necessity of asking leave to be grateful. *But, says he, as Mr. Addison must be the judge in what regards himself, and has seemed to be no very just one in regard to me, so I must own to you I expect nothing but civility from him.* In the same letter he mentions Philips, 30 as having been busy to kindle animosity between them, but, in a letter to Addison, he expresses some consciousness of behaviour inattentively deficient in respect.

Of Swift's industry in promoting the subscription there remains the testimony of Kennet, no friend to either him or Pope:—

"Nov. 2, 1713, Dr. Swift came into the coffee-house, and had a bow from every body but me, who, I confess, could not but despise him. When I came to the anti-chamber to wait, before prayers, Dr. Swift was the principal man of talk and business, and acted as master of requests—Then he instructed a young nobleman that the 40 *best Poet in England* was Mr. Pope (a papist), who had begun a

translation of Homer into English verse, for which *he must have them all subscribe*, for, says he, the author *shall not* begin to print till *I have a thousand guineas for him* "

About this time it is likely that Steele, who was, with all his political fury, good-natured and officious, procured an interview between these angry rivals, which ended in aggravated malevolence. On this occasion, if the reports be true, Pope made his complaint with frankness and spirit, as a man undeservedly neglected or opposed, and Addison affected a contemptuous unconcern, and, in
10 a calm even voice, reproached Pope with his vanity, and, telling him of the improvements which his early works had received from his own remarks and those of Steele, said that he, being now engaged in public business, had no longer any care for his poetical reputation, nor had any other desire, with regard to Pope, than that he should not by too much arrogance alienate the public

To this Pope is said to have replied with great keenness and severity, upbraiding Addison with perpetual dependance, and with the abuse of those qualifications which he had obtained at the public cost, and charging him with mean endeavours to obstruct the
20 progress of rising merit. The contest rose so high that they parted at last without any interchange of civility

The first volume of Homer was (1715) in time published, and a rival version of the first "Iliad," for rivals the time of their appearance inevitably made them, was immediately printed, with the name of Tickell. It was soon perceived that among the followers of Addison Tickell had the preference, and the critics and poets divided into factions. *I, says Pope, have the town, that is, the mob, on my side, but it is not uncommon for the smaller party to supply by industry what it wants in numbers—I appeal to the people as my*
30 *rightful judges, and, while they are not inclined to condemn me, shall not fear the high-flyers at Button's.* This opposition he immediately imputed to Addison, and complained of it in terms sufficiently resentful to Craggs, their common friend

When Addison's opinion was asked, he declared the versions to be both good, but Tickell's the best that had ever been written, and sometimes said that they were both good, but that Tickell had more of Homer.

Pope was now sufficiently irritated, his reputation and his interest were at hazard. He once intended to print together the four
40 versions of Dryden, Maynwaring, Pope, and Tickell, that they might

be readily compared, and fairly estimated This design seems to have been defeated by the refusal of Tonson, who was the proprietor or the other three versions

Pope intended, at another time, a rigorous criticism of Tickell's translation, and had marked a copy, which I have seen, in all places that appeared defective But, while he was thus meditating defence or revenge, his adversary sunk before him without a blow, the voice of the public was not long divided, and the preference was universally given to Pope's performance

He was convinced, by adding one circumstance to another, that 10 the other translation was the work of Addison himself, but if he knew it in Addison's life-time, it does not appear that he told it. He left his illustrious antagonist to be punished by what has been considered as the most painful of all reflections, the remembrance of a crime perpetrated in vain.

The other circumstances of their quarrel were thus related by Pope —

"Philipps seemed to have been encouraged to abuse me in coffee-houses and conversations, and Gildon wrote a thing about Wycherley, in which he had abused both me and my relations very 20 grossly Lord Warwick himself told me one day that it was in vain for me to endeavour to be well with Mr Addison, that his jealous temper would never admit of a settled friendship between us, and, to convince me of what he had said, assured me that Addison had encouraged Gildon to publish those scandals, and had given him ten guineas after they were published The next day, while I was heated with what I had heard, I wrote a letter to Mr Addison, to let him know that I was not unacquainted with this behaviour of his, that, if I was to speak severely of him in return for it, it should be not in such a dirty way; that I should rather tell him, himself, 30 fairly of his faults, and allow his good qualities, and that it should be something in the following manner I then adjoined the first sketch of what has since been called my satire on Addison Mr Addison used me very civilly ever after."

The verses on Addison, when they were sent to Atterbury, were considered by him as the most excellent of Pope's performances, and the writer was advised, since he knew where his strength lay, not to suffer it to remain unemployed

This year (1715) being, by the subscription, enabled to live more by choice, having persuaded his father to sell their estate at 40

Binfield, he purchased, I think only for his life, that house at Twickenham, to which his residence afterwards procured so much celebration, and removed thither with his father and mother

Here he planted the vines and the quincunx which his verses mention ; and being under the necessity of making a subterraneous passage to a garden on the other side of the road, he adorned it with fossile bodies, and dignified it with the title of a grotto ; a place of silence and retreat, from which he endeavoured to persuade his friends and himself that cares and passions could be excluded

10 A grotto is not often the wish or pleasure of an Englishman, who has more frequent need to solicit than exclude the sun ; but Pope's excavation was requisite as an entrance to his garden, and as some men try to be proud of their defects, he extracted an ornament from an inconvenience, and vanity produced a grotto where necessity enforced a passage It may be frequently remarked of the studious and speculative, that they are proud of trifles, and that their amusements seem frivolous and childish ; whether it be that men conscious of great reputation think themselves above the reach of censure, and safe in the admission of negligent indul-

20 gences, or that mankind expect from elevated genius an uniformity of greatness, and watch its degradation with malicious wonder ; like him who, having followed with his eye an eagle into the clouds, should lament that she ever descended to a perch

While the volumes of his Homer were annually published, he collected his former works (1717) into one quarto volume, to which he prefixed a Preface, written with great spriteliness and elegance, which was afterwards reprinted with some passages subjoined that he at first omitted ; other marginal additions of the same kind he made in the later editions of his poems Waller remarks that

30 poets lose half their praise, because the reader knows not what they have blotted Pope's voracity of fame taught him the art of obtaining the accumulated honour both of what he had published, and of what he had suppressed

In this year his father died suddenly, in his seventy-fifth year, having passed twenty-nine years in privacy. He is not known but by the character which his son has given him If the money with which he retired was all gotten by himself, he had traded very successfully in times when sudden riches were rarely attainable

The publication of the "Iliad" was at last completed in 1720

40 The splendour and success of this work raised Pope many enemies, that endeavoured to depreciate his abilities, Burnet who was

afterwards a Judge of no mean reputation, censured him in a piece called "Homerides" before it was published Ducket likewise endeavoured to make him ridiculous Dennis was the perpetual persecutor of all his studies. But, whoever his critics were, their writings are lost, and the names which are preserved, are preserved in the "Dunciad."

In this disastrous year (1720) of national infatuation, when more riches than Peru can boast were expected from the South Sea, when the contagion of avarice tainted every mind, and even poets panted after wealth, Pope was seized with the universal passion, and ventu- 10
 tured some of his money. The stock rose in its price; and he for a while thought himself *the Lord of thousands*. But this dream of happiness did not last long, and he seems to have waked soon enough to get clear with the loss only of what he once thought himself to have won, and perhaps not wholly of that

Next year he published some select poems of his friend Dr. Parnell, with a very elegant Dedication to the Earl of Oxford; who, after all his struggles and dangers, then lived in retirement, still under the frown of a victorious faction, who could take no pleasure in hearing his praise 20

He gave the same year (1721) an edition of Shakespeare. His name was now of so much authority that Tonson thought himself entitled, by annexing it, to demand a subscription of six guineas for Shakespeare's plays in six quarto volumes; nor did his expectation much deceive him; for of seven hundred and fifty which he printed, he dispersed a great number at the price proposed. The reputation of that edition indeed sunk afterwards so low, that one hundred and forty copies were sold at sixteen shillings each

On this undertaking, to which Pope was induced by a reward of two hundred and seventeen pounds twelve shillings, he seems never 30
 to have reflected afterwards without vexation; for Theobald, a man of heavy diligence, with very slender powers, first, in a book called "Shakespeare Restored," and then in a formal edition, detected his deficiencies with all the insolence of victory; and, as he was now high enough to be feared and hated, Theobald had from others all the help that could be supplied by the desire of humbling a haughty character

From this time Pope became an enemy to editors, collators, commentators, and verbal critics, and hoped to persuade the world that he miscarried in this undertaking only by having a mind too 40
 great for such minute employment.

Pope in his edition undoubtedly did many things wrong, and left many things undone, but let him not be defrauded of his due praise. He was the first that knew, at least the first that told, by what helps the text might be improved. If he inspected the early editions negligently, he taught others to be more accurate. In his Preface he expanded with great skill and elegance the character which had been given of Shakespeare by Dryden, and he drew the public attention upon his works, which, though often mentioned, had been little read.

10 Soon after the appearance of the "Iliad," resolving not to let the general kindness cool, he published proposals for a translation of the "Odyssey," in five volumes, for five guineas. He was willing, however, now to have associates in his labour, being either weary with toiling upon another's thoughts, or having heard, as Ruffhead relates, that Fenton and Broome had already begun the work, and liking better to have them confederates than rivals.

In the patent, instead of saying that he had *translated* the "Odyssey," as he had said of the "Iliad," he says that he had *undertaken* a translation, and in the proposals the subscription is said to
20 be not solely for his own use, but for that of *two of his friends who have assisted him in this work*.

In 1723, while he was engaged in this new version, he appeared before the Lords at the memorable trial of Bishop Atterbury, with whom he had lived in great familiarity and frequent correspondence. Atterbury had honestly recommended to him the study of the Popish controversy in hope of his conversion, to which Pope answered in a manner that cannot much recommend his principles or his judgment. In questions and projects of learning they agreed better. He was called at the trial to give an account of Atterbury's domestic
30 life, and private employment, that it might appear how little time he had left for plots. Pope had but few words to utter, and in those few he made several blunders.

His letters to Atterbury express the utmost esteem, tenderness, and gratitude. *perhaps*, says he, *it is not only in this world that I may have cause to remember the Bishop of Rochester*. At their last interview in the Tower Atterbury presented him with a Bible.

Of the "Odyssey" Pope translated only twelve books, the rest were the work of Broome and Fenton; the notes were written wholly by Broome, who was not over-liberally rewarded. The public was carefully kept ignorant of the several shares, and an account
40 was subjoined at the conclusion, which is now known not to be true.

The first copy of Pope's books, with those of Fenton, are to be seen in the Museum. The parts of Pope are less interlined than the "Iliad," and the latter books of the "Iliad" less than the former. He grew dexterous by practice, and every sheet enabled him to write the next with more facility. The books of Fenton have very few alterations by the hand of Pope. Those of Broome have not been found but Pope complained, as it is reported, that he had much trouble in correcting them.

His contract with Lintot was the same as for the "Iliad," except that only one hundred pounds were to be paid him for each 10 volume. The number of subscribers was five hundred and seventy-four, and of copies eight hundred and nineteen, so that his profit, when he had paid his assistants, was still very considerable. The work was finished in 1725, and from that time he resolved to make no more translations.

The sale did not answer Lintot's expectation, and he then pretended to discover something of fraud in Pope, and commenced, or threatened, a suit in Chancery.

On the English "Odyssey" a criticism was published by Spence, at that time Prelector of Poetry at Oxford; a man whose learning 20 was not very great, and whose mind was not very powerful. His criticism, however, was commonly just; what he thought, he thought rightly; and his remarks were recommended by his coolness and candour. In him Pope had the first experience of a critic without malevolence, who thought it as much his duty to display beauties as expose faults; who censured with respect, and praised with alacrity.

With this criticism Pope was so little offended that he sought the acquaintance of the writer, who lived with him from that time in great familiarity, attended him in his last hours, and compiled me- 30 morials of his conversation. The regard of Pope recommended him to the great and powerful, and he obtained very valuable preferments in the Church.

Not long after, Pope was returning home from a visit in a friend's coach, which, in passing a bridge, was overturned into the water; the windows were closed, and being unable to force them open, he was in danger of immediate death, when the postilion snatched him out by breaking the glass, of which the fragments cut two of his fingers in such a manner that he lost their use.

Voltaire, who was then in England, sent him a letter of consolati- 40 on. He had been entertained by Pope at his table, where he

talked with so much grossness that Mrs Pope was driven from the room Pope discovered, by a trick, that he was a spy for the Court, and never considered him as a man worthy of confidence

He soon afterwards (1727) joined with Swift, who was then in England, to publish three volumes of *Miscellanies*, in which amongst other things he inserted the "Memoirs of a Parish Clerk," in ridicule of Burnet's importance in his own History, and a "Debate upon Black and White Horses," written in all the formalities of a legal process by the assistance, as is said, of Mr Fortescue, afterwards Master of the Rolls Before these *Miscellanies* is a preface signed by Swift and Pope, but apparently written by Pope, in which he makes a ridiculous and romantic complaint of the robberies committed upon authors by the clandestine seizure and sale of their papers He tells, in tragic strains, how *the cabinets of the sick and the closets of the dead have been broken open and ransacked*, as if those violences were often committed for papers of uncertain and accidental value, which are rarely provoked by real treasures, as if epigrams and essays were in danger where gold and diamonds are safe A cat, hunted for his musk, is, according to Pope's account, but the emblem of a wit winded by booksellers

His complaint, however, received some attestation, for the same year the letters written by him to Mr Cromwell in his youth, were sold by Mrs Thomas to Curll, who printed them

In these *Miscellanies* was first published the "Art of Sinking in Poetry," which, by such a train of consequences as usually passes in literary quarrels, gave in a short time, according to Pope's account, occasion to the "Dunciad"

In the following year (1728) he began to put Atterbury's advice in practice, and shewed his satirical powers by publishing the "Dunciad," one of his greatest and most elaborate performances, in which he endeavoured to sink into contempt all the writers by whom he had been attacked, and some others whom he thought unable to defend themselves

At the head of the Dunces he placed poor Theobald, whom he accused of ingratitude, but whose real crime was supposed to be that of having revised "Shakespeare" more happily than himself This satire had the effect which he intended, by blasting the characters which it touched Ralph, who, unnecessarily interposing in the quarrel, got a place in a subsequent edition, complained that for a time he was in danger of starving, as the book-sellers had no longer any confidence in his capacity

The prevalence of this poem was gradual and slow the plan, if not wholly new, was little understood by common readers. Many of the allusions required illustration, the names were often expressed only by the initial and final letters, and, if they had been printed at length, were such as few had known or recollected. The subject itself had nothing generally interesting, for whom did it concern to know that one or another scribbler was a dunce? If, therefore, it had been possible for those who were attacked to conceal their pain and their resentment, the "Dunciad" might have made its way very slowly in the world

This, however, was not to be expected. every man is of importance to himself, and therefore, in his own opinion, to others, and, supposing the world already acquainted with all his pleasures and his pains, is perhaps the first to publish injuries or misfortunes, which had never been known unless related by himself, and at which those that hear them will only laugh, for no man sympathises with the sorrows of vanity.

The history of the "Dunciad" is very minutely related by Pope himself, in a Dedication which he wrote to Lord Middlesex in the name of Savage

"I will relate the war of the Dunces (for so it has been commonly called), which began in the year 1727, and ended in 1730

"When Dr Swift and Mr Pope thought it proper, for reasons specified in the Preface to their Miscellanies, to publish such little pieces of theirs as had casually got abroad, there was added to them the 'Treatise of the Bathos,' or the 'Art of Sinking in Poetry'. It happened that in one chapter of this piece the several species of bad poets were ranged in classes, to which were prefixed almost all the letters of the alphabet (the greatest part of them at random), but such was the number of poets eminent in that art, that some one or other took every letter to himself all fell into so violent a fury that, for half a year or more, the common newspapers (in most of which they had some property, as being hired writers) were filled with the most abusive falsehoods and scurrilities they could possibly devise. A liberty no way to be wondered at in those people, and in those papers, that for many years, during the uncontrolled license of the press, had aspersed almost all the great characters of the age; and this with impunity, their own persons and names being utterly secret and obscure.

"This gave Mr Pope the thought that he had now some opportunity of doing good, by detecting and dragging into light these

common enemies of mankind, since to invalidate this universal slander, it sufficed to shew what contemptible men were the authors of it. He was not without hopes that, by manifesting the dulness of those who had only malice to recommend them, either the booksellers would not find their account in employing them, or the men themselves, when discovered, want courage to proceed in so unlawful an occupation. This it was that gave birth to the 'Dunciad,' and he thought it a happiness that, by the late flood of slander on himself, he had acquired such a peculiar right over their names as
10 was necessary to this design

"On the 12th of March, 1729, at St James's, that poem was presented to the King and Queen (who had before been pleased to read it) by the right honourable Sir Robert Walpole, and, some days after, the whole impression was taken and dispersed by several noblemen and persons of the first distinction.

"It is certainly a true observation that no people are so impatient of censure as those who are the greatest slanderers, which was wonderfully exemplified on this occasion. On the day the book was first vended, a crowd of authors besieged the shop;
20 entreaties, advices, threats of law and battery, nay, cries of treason, were all employed to hinder the coming out of the 'Dunciad' on the other side, the booksellers and hawkers made as great efforts to procure it. What could a few poor authors do against so great a majority as the public? There was no stopping a torrent with a finger, so out it came

"Many ludicrous circumstances attended it. The *Dunces* (for by this name they were called) held weekly clubs, to consult of hostilities against the author. one wrote a letter to a great minister, assuring him Mr Pope was the greatest enemy the government had,
30 and another bought his image in clay, to execute him in effigy, with which sad sort of satisfaction the gentlemen were a little comforted

"Some false editions of the book having an owl in their frontispiece, the true one, to distinguish it, fixed in its stead an ass laden with authors. Then another surreptitious one being printed with the same ass, the new edition in octavo returned for distinction to the owl again. Hence arose a great contest of booksellers against booksellers, and advertisements against advertisements, some recommending the edition of the owl, and others the edition of the ass, by which names they came to be distinguished, to the great honour
40 also of the gentlemen of the 'Dunciad.'"

Pope appears by this narrative to have contemplated his victory over the Dunces with great exultation, and such was his delight in the tumult which he had raised, that for a while his natural sensibility was suspended, and he read reproaches and invectives without emotion, considering them only as the necessary effects of that pain which he rejoiced in having given

It cannot however be concealed that, by his own confession, he was the aggressor, for nobody believes that the letters in the "Bathos" were placed at random, and it may be discovered that, when he thinks himself concealed, he indulges the common vanity 10 of common men, and triumphs in those distinctions which he had affected to despise. He is proud that his book was presented to the King and Queen by the right honourable Sir Robert Walpole; he is proud that they had read it before, he is proud that the edition was taken off by the nobility and persons of the first distinction

The edition of which he speaks was, I believe, that which, by telling in the text the names, and in the notes the characters of those whom he had satirised, was made intelligible and diverting. The critics had now declared their approbation of the plan, and the common reader began to like it without fear, those who were stran- 20 gers to petty literature, and therefore unable to decypher initials and blanks, had now names and persons brought within their view, and delighted in the visible effect of those shafts of malice, which they had hitherto contemplated as shot into the air

Dennis, upon the fresh provocation now given him, renewed the enmity which had for a time been appeased by mutual civilities; and published remarks, which he had till then suppressed, upon the "Rape of the Lock." Many more grumbled in secret, or vented their resentment in the newspapers by epigrams or invectives

Ducket, indeed, being mentioned as loving Burnet with *pious* 30 *passion*, pretended that his moral character was injured, and for some time declared his resolution to take vengeance with a cudgel. But Pope appeased him, by changing *pious passion* to *cordial friendship*, and by a note, in which he vehemently disclaims the malignity of meaning imputed to the first expression

Aaron Hill, who was represented as diving for the prize, expostulated with Pope in a manner so much superior to all mean solicitation, that Pope was reduced to sneak and shuffle, sometimes to deny, and sometimes to apologize, he first endeavours to wound, and is then afraid to own that he meant a blow.

The "Dunciad," in the complete edition, is addressed to Dr Swift of the notes, part was written by Dr Arbuthnot, and an apologetical letter was prefixed, signed by Cleland, but supposed to have been written by Pope

After this general war upon dulness, he seems to have indulged himself awhile in tranquillity, but his subsequent productions prove that he was not idle. He published (1731) a poem on "Taste," in which he very particularly and severely criticises the house, the furniture, the gardens, and the entertainments of Timon, a man of
 10 great wealth and little taste. By Timon he was universally supposed, and by the Earl of Burlington, to whom the poem is addressed, was privately said, to mean the Duke of Chandos, a man perhaps too much delighted with pomp and show, but of a temper kind and beneficent, and who had consequently the voice of the public in his favour

A violent outcry was therefore raised against the ingratitude and treachery of Pope, who was said to have been indebted to the patronage of Chandos for a present of a thousand pounds, and who gained the opportunity of insulting him by the kindness of his
 20 invitation

The receipt of the thousand pounds Pope publicly denied, but from the reproach which the attack on a character so amiable brought upon him, he tried all means of escaping. The name of Cleland was again employed in an apology, by which no man was satisfied, and he was at last reduced to shelter his temerity behind dissimulation, and endeavour to make that disbelieved which he never had confidence openly to deny. He wrote an exculpatory letter to the Duke, which was answered with great magnanimity, as by a man who accepted his excuse without believing his profes-
 30 sions. He said that to have ridiculed his taste, or his buildings, had been an indifferent action in another man, but that in Pope, after the reciprocal kindness that had been exchanged between them, it had been less easily excused

Pope, in one of his letters, complaining of the treatment which his poem had found, *owns that such critics can intimidate him, nay, almost persuade him to write no more, which is a compliment this age deserves*. The man who threatens the world is always ridiculous, for the world can easily go on without him, and in a short time will cease to miss him. I have heard of an idiot, who used to revenge
 40 his vexations by lying all night upon the bridge. *There is nothing, says Juvenal that a man will not believe in his own favour*. Pope had

been flattered till he thought himself one of the moving powers in the system of life. When he talked of laying down his pen, those who sat round him entreated and implored, and self-love did not suffer him to suspect that they went away and laughed.

The following year deprived him of Gay, a man he had known early, and whom he seemed to love with more tenderness than any other of his literary friends. Pope was now forty-four years old, an age at which the mind begins less easily to admit new confidence, and the will to grow less flexible, and when therefore the departure of an old friend is very acutely felt

10

In the next year he lost his mother, not by an unexpected death, for she had lasted to the age of ninety-three; but she did not die unlamented. The filial piety of Pope was in the highest degree amiable and exemplary; his parents had the happiness of living till he was at the summit of poetical reputation, till he was at ease in his fortune, and without a rival in his fame, and found no diminution of his respect or tenderness. Whatever was his pride, to them he was obedient, and whatever was his irritability, to them he was gentle. Life has, among its soothing and quiet comforts, few things better to give than such a son

20

One of the passages of Pope's life which seems to deserve some enquiry, was a publication of letters between him and many of his friends, which falling into the hands of Curll, a rapacious bookseller of no good fame, were by him printed and sold. This volume containing some letters from noblemen, Pope incited a prosecution against him in the House of Lords for breach of privilege, and attended himself to stimulate the resentment of his friends. Curll appeared at the bar, and, knowing himself in no great danger, spoke of Pope with very little reverence. *He has, said Curll, a knack at versifying, but in prose I think myself a match for him* 30 When the orders of the House were examined, none of them appeared to have been infringed, Curll went away triumphant, and Pope was left to seek some other remedy

Curll's account was that one evening a man in a clergyman's gown, but with a lawyer's band, brought and offered to sale a number of printed volumes, which he found to be Pope's epistolary correspondence, that he asked no name, and was told none, but gave the price demanded, and thought himself authorised to use his purchase to his own advantage

That Curll gave a true account of the transaction, it is reasonable to believe, because no falsehood was ever detected, and when 40

some years afterwards I mentioned it to Lintot, the son of Bernard, he declared his opinion to be that Pope knew better than any body else how Curll obtained the copies, because another parcel was at the same time sent to himself, for which no price had ever been demanded, as he made known his resolution not to pay a porter, and consequently not to deal with a nameless agent

Such care had been taken to make them public, that they were sent at once to two booksellers, to Curll, who was likely to seize them as a prey, and to Lintot, who might be expected to give Pope
 10 information of the seeming injury Lintot, I believe, did nothing, and Curll did what was expected That to make them public was the only purpose may be reasonably supposed, because the numbers offered to sale by the private messengers shewed that hope of gain could not have been the motive of the impression

It seems that Pope, being desirous of printing his letters, and not knowing how to do, without imputation of vanity, what has in this country been done very rarely, contrived an appearance of compulsion, that, when he could complain that his letters were surreptitiously published, he might decently and defensively publish
 20 them himself.

Pope's private correspondence, thus promulgated, filled the nation with praises of his candour, tenderness, and benevolence, the purity of his purposes, and the fidelity of his friendship. There were some letters which a very good or a very wise man would wish suppressed, but, as they had been already exposed, it was impracticable now to retract them

From the perusal of those letters Mr Allen first conceived the desire of knowing him, and with so much zeal did he cultivate the friendship which he had newly formed, that when Pope told his
 30 purpose of vindicating his own property by a genuine edition, he offered to pay the cost

This however Pope did not accept, but in time solicited a subscription for a quarto volume, which appeared (1737), I believe, with sufficient profit In the preface he tells that his letters were repositied in a friend's library, said to be the Earl of Oxford's, and that the copy thence stolen was sent to the press The story was doubtless received with different degrees of credit It may be suspected that the preface to the Miscellanies was written to prepare the public for such an incident, and to strengthen this opinion,
 40 James Worsdale, a painter, who was employed in clandestine

negotiations, but whose veracity was very doubtful, declared that he was the messenger who carried, by Pope's direction, the books to Curll

When they were thus published and avowed, as they had relation to recent facts, and persons either then living or not yet forgotten, they may be supposed to have found readers, but as the facts were minute, and the characters, being either private or literary, were little known, or little regarded, they awakened no popular kindness or resentment the book never became much the subject of conversation, some read it as a contemporary history, and some perhaps as 10 a model of epistolary language; but those who read it did not talk of it Not much therefore was added by it to fame or envy; nor do I remember that it produced either public praise or public censure

It had however, in some degree, the recommendation of novelty Our language has few letters, except those of statesmen Howell indeed, about a century ago, published his letters, which are commended by Morhoff, and which alone of his hundred volumes continue his memory Loveday's letters were printed only once, those of Herbert and Suckling are hardly known. Mrs. Phillips's ("Orinda's") 20 are equally neglected, and those of Walsh seem written as exercises, and were never sent to any living mistress or friend Pope's epistolary excellence had an open field, he had no English rival, living or dead

Pope is seen in this collection as connected with the other contemporary wits, and certainly suffers no disgrace in the comparison, but it must be remembered that he had the power of favouring himself he might have originally had publication in his mind, and have written with care, or have afterwards selected those which he had most happily conceived, or most diligently laboured; and I 30 know not whether there does not appear something more studied and artificial in his productions than the rest, except one long letter by Bolingbroke, composed with all the skill and industry of a professed author It is indeed not easy to distinguish affectation from habit; he that has once studiously formed a style, rarely writes afterwards with complete ease. Pope may be said to write always with his reputation in his head; Swift perhaps like a man who remembered that he was writing to Pope; but Arbuthnot like one who lets thoughts drop from his pen as they rise into his mind

Before these letters appeared, he published the first part of 40 what he persuaded himself to think a system of ethics, under the

title of an "Essay on Man," which, if his letter to Swift (of Sept 14, 1725) be rightly explained by the commentator, had been eight years under his consideration, and of which he seems to have desired the success with great solicitude. He had now many open, and doubtless many secret, enemies. The *Dunces* were yet smarting from the war, and the superiority which he publicly arrogated, disposed the world to wish his humiliation.

All this he knew, and against all this he provided. His own name, and that of his friend to whom the work is inscribed, were in the 10 first editions carefully suppressed, and the poem, being of a new kind, was ascribed to one or another, as favour determined, or conjecture wandered; it was given, says Warburton, to every man, except him only who could write it. Those who like only when they like the author, and who are under the dominion of a name, condemned it, and those admired it who are willing to scatter praise at random, which while it is unappropriated excites no envy. Those friends of Pope that were trusted with the secret, went about lavishing honours on the new-born poet, and hinting that Pope was never so much in danger from any former rival.

20 To those authors whom he had personally offended, and to those whose opinion the world considered as decisive, and whom he suspected of envy or malevolence, he sent his Essay as a present before publication, that they might defeat their own enmity by praises, which they could not afterwards decently retract.

With these precautions, in 1733 was published the first part of the "Essay on Man." There had been for some time a report that Pope was busy upon a system of morality, but this design was not discovered in the new poem, which had a form and a title with which its readers were unacquainted. Its reception was not uniform, 30 some thought it a very imperfect piece, though not without good lines. While the author was unknown, some, as will always happen, favoured him as an adventurer, and some censured him as an intruder, but all thought him above neglect. The sale increased, and editions were multiplied.

The subsequent editions of the first epistle exhibited two memorable corrections. At first, the poet and his friend

"Expatiate freely o'er this scene of man,
A mighty maze of walks without a plan "

For which he wrote afterwards,

40 "A mighty maze, but not without a plan "

for, if there were no plan, it was in vain to describe or to trace the maze

The other alteration was of these lines :

" And spite of pride, *and in thy reason's spite*,
One truth is clear, whatever is, is right "

but having afterwards discovered, or been shewn, that the *truth* which subsisted *in spite of reason* could not be very *clear*, he substituted

" And spite of pride, *in erring reason's spite* "

To such oversights will the most vigorous mind be liable, when it is employed at once upon argument and poetry

The second and third epistles were published, and Pope was, I believe, more and more suspected of writing them, at last, in 1734, he avowed the fourth, and claimed the honour of a moral poet

In the conclusion it is sufficiently acknowledged that the doctrine of the " Essay on Man " was received from Bolingbroke, who is said to have ridiculed Pope, among those who enjoyed his confidence, as having adopted and advanced principles of which he did not perceive the consequence, and as blindly propagating opinions contrary to his own That those communications had been consolidated into a scheme regularly drawn, and delivered to Pope, from whom it returned only transformed from prose to verse, has been reported, but hardly can be true. The Essay plainly appears the fabric of a poet, what Bolingbroke supplied could be only the first principles, the order, illustration, and embellishments, must all be Pope's. 20

These principles it is not my business to clear from obscurity, dogmatism, or falsehood; but they were not immediately examined, philosophy and poetry have not often the same readers, and the Essay abounded in splendid amplifications and sparkling sentences, which were read and admired, with no great attention to their ultimate purpose, its flowers caught the eye, which did not see what the gay foliage concealed, and for a time flourished in the sunshine of universal approbation. So little was any evil tendency discovered, that, as innocence is unsuspecting, many read it for a manual of piety 30

Its reputation soon invited a translator It was first turned into French prose, and afterwards by Resnel into verse Both translations fell into the hands of Crousaz, who first, when he had the

version in prose, wrote a general censure, and afterwards reprinted Resnel's version, with particular remarks upon every paragraph

Crousaz was a professor of Switzerland, eminent for his treatise of Logic, and his "Examen de Pyrrhonisme," and, however little known or regarded here, was no mean antagonist His mind was one of those in which philosophy and piety are happily united He was accustomed to argument and disquisition, and perhaps was grown too desirous of detecting faults, but his intentions were always right, his opinions were solid, and his religion pure

10 His incessant vigilance for the promotion of piety disposed him to look with distrust upon all metaphysical systems of theology, and all schemes of virtue and happiness purely rational, and therefore it was not long before he was persuaded that the positions of Pope, as they terminated for the most part in natural religion, were intended to draw mankind away from revelation, and to represent the whole course of things as a necessary concatenation of insoluble fatality, and it is undeniable that in many passages a religious eye may easily discover expressions not very favourable to morals, or to liberty

20 About this time Warburton began to make his appearance in the first ranks of learning He was a man of vigorous faculties, a mind fervid and vehement, supplied by incessant and unlimited enquiry with wonderful extent and variety of knowledge, which yet had not oppressed his imagination, nor clouded his perspicacity To every work he brought a memory full fraught, together with a fancy fertile of original combinations, and at once exerted the powers of the scholar, the reasoner, and the wit But his knowledge was too multifarious to be always exact, and his pursuits were too eager to be always cautious His abilities gave him an
30 haughty confidence, which he disdained to conceal or mollify, and his impatience of opposition disposed him to treat his adversaries with such contemptuous superiority as made his readers commonly his enemies, and excited against the advocate the wishes of some who favoured the cause He seems to have adopted the Roman Emperor's determination, *oderunt dum metuant*, he used no allurements of gentle language, but wished to compel rather than persuade

His style is copious without selection, and forcible without neatness, he took the words that presented themselves, his diction is
40 coarse and impure, and his sentences are unmeasured

He had, in the early part of his life, pleased himself with the notice of inferior wits, and corresponded with the enemies of Pope. A letter was produced, when he had perhaps himself forgotten it, in which he tells Concanen, "*Dryden, I observe, borrows for want of leisure, and Pope for want of genius Milton out of pride, and Addison out of modesty*." And when Theobald published Shakespeare, in opposition to Pope, the best notes were supplied by Warburton.

But the time was now come when Warburton was to change his opinion, and Pope was to find a defender in him who had contributed so much to the exaltation of his rival.

The arrogance of Warburton excited against him every artifice of offence, and therefore it may be supposed that his union with Pope was censured as hypocritical inconstancy, but surely to think differently, at different times, of poetical merit may be easily allowed. Such opinions are often admitted, and dismissed, without nice examination. Who is there that has not found reason for changing his mind about questions of greater importance?

Warburton, whatever was his motive, undertook, without solicitation, to rescue Pope from the talons of Crousaz, by freeing him from the imputation of favouring fatality, or rejecting revelation, and from month to month continued a vindication of the "Essay on Man," in the literary journal of that time called "The Republic of Letters."

Pope, who probably began to doubt the tendency of his own work, was glad that the positions, of which he perceived himself not to know the full meaning, could by any mode of interpretation be made to mean well. How much he was pleased with his gratuitous defender, the following letter evidently shews.

" March 24, 1743. 30

" Sir,

" I have just received from Mr. R. two more of your letters. It is in the greatest hurry imaginable that I write this, but I cannot help thanking you in particular for your third letter, which is so extremely clear, short, and full, that I think Mr. Crousaz ought never to have another answer, and deserved not so good a one. I can only say, you do him too much honour, and me too much right, so odd as the expression seems, for you have made my system as clear as I ought to have done, and could not. It is indeed the same system as mine, but illustrated with a ray of your own, as they say 40

our natural body is the same still when it is glorified I am sure I like it better than I did before, and so will every man else I know I meant just what you explain, but I did not explain my own meaning so well as you You understand me as well as I do myself, but you express me better than I could express myself Pray accept the sincerest acknowledgments I cannot but wish these letters were put together in one book, and intend (with your leave) to procure a translation of part, at least, of all of them into French, but I shall not proceed a step without your consent and opinion, &c "

- 10 By this fond and eager acceptance of an exculpatory comment Pope testified that, whatever might be the seeming or real import of the principles which he had received from Bolingbroke, he had not intentionally attacked religion, and Bolingbroke, if he meant to make him without his own consent an instrument of mischief, found him now engaged with his eyes open on the side of truth

It is known that Bolingbroke concealed from Pope his real opinions He once discovered them to Mr Hooke, who related them again to Pope, and was told by him that he must have mis-
 20 taken the meaning of what he heard, and Bolingbroke, when Pope's uneasiness incited him to desire an explanation, declared that Hooke had misunderstood him

Bolingbroke hated Warburton, who had drawn his pupil from him, and a little before Pope's death they had a dispute, from which they parted with mutual aversion

From this time Pope lived in the closest intimacy with his commentator, and amply rewarded his kindness and his zeal, for he introduced him to Mr Murray, by whose interest he became preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and to Mr Allen, who gave him his niece
 30 and his estate, and by consequence a bishopric When he died, he left him the property of his works, a legacy which may be reasonably estimated at four thousand pounds

Pope's fondness for the "Essay on Man" appeared by his desire of its propagation Dobson, who had gained reputation by his version of Prior's "Solomon," was employed by him to translate it into Latin verse, and was for that purpose some time at Twickenham, but he left his work, whatever was the reason, unfinished, and, by Benson's invitation, undertook the longer task of "Paradise Lost" Pope then desired his friend to find a scholar who should
 40 turn his Essay into Latin prose, but no such performance has ever appeared.

Pope lived at this time *among the great*, with that reception and respect to which his works entitled him, and which he had not impaired by any private misconduct or factious partiality. Though Bolingbroke was his friend, Walpole was not his enemy; but treated him with so much consideration as, at his request, to solicit and obtain from the French Minister an abbey for Mr Southcot, whom he considered himself as obliged to reward, by this exertion of his interest, for the benefit which he had received from his attendance in a long illness.

It was said that, when the Court was at Richmond, Queen Caroline had declared her intention to visit him. This may have been only a careless effusion, thought on no more. The report of such notice, however, was soon in many mouths, and, if I do not forget or misapprehend Savage's account, Pope, pretending to decline what was not yet offered, left his house for a time, not, I suppose, for any other reason than lest he should be thought to stay at home in expectation of an honour which would not be conferred. He was therefore angry at Swift, who represents him as *refusing the visits of a Queen*, because he knew that what had never been offered had never been refused. 10

Besides the general system of morality supposed to be contained in the "Essay on Man," it was his intention to write distinct poems upon the different duties or conditions of life; one of which is the Epistle to Lord Bathurst (1733) on the "Use of Riches," a piece on which he declared great labour to have been bestowed.

Into this poem some incidents are historically thrown, and some known characters are introduced, with others of which it is difficult to say how far they are real or fictitious; but the praise of Kyrle, the *Man of Ross*, deserves particular examination, who, after a long and pompous enumeration of his public works and private charities, is said to have diffused all those blessings from *five hundred a year*. Wonders are willingly told, and willingly heard. The truth is that Kyrle was a man of known integrity, and active benevolence, by whose solicitation the wealthy were persuaded to pay contributions to his charitable schemes; this influence he obtained by an example of liberality exerted to the utmost extent of his power, and was thus enabled to give more than he had. This account Mr. Victor received from the minister of the place, and I have preserved it, that the praise of a good man, being made more credible, may be more solid. Narrations of romantic and impracticable virtue will be read with wonder, but that which is unattainable is recommended in vain; that good may be endeavoured, it must be shewn to be possible. 40

This is the only piece in which the author has given a hint of his religion, by ridiculing the ceremony of burning the Pope, and by mentioning with some indignation the inscription on the Monument

When this poem was first published, the dialogue, having no letters of direction, was perplexed and obscure Pope seems to have written with no very distinct idea, for he calls that an "Epistle to Bathurst," in which Bathurst is introduced as speaking

He afterwards (1734) inscribed to Lord Cobham his "Characters of Men," written with close attention to the operations of the mind and
 10 modifications of life In this poem he has endeavoured to establish and exemplify his favourite theory of the *Ruling Passion*, by which he means an original direction of desire to some particular object, an innate affection which gives all action a determinate and invariable tendency, and operates upon the whole system of life, either openly, or more secretly by the intervention of some accidental or subordinate propension

Of any passion, thus innate and irresistible, the existence may reasonably be doubted Human characters are by no means constant, men change by change of place, of fortune, of acquaintance;
 20 he who is at one time a lover of pleasure, is at another a lover of money Those indeed who attain any excellence, commonly spend life in one pursuit, for excellence is not often gained upon easier terms But to the particular species of excellence men are directed, not by an ascendant planet or predominating humour, but by the first book which they read, some early conversation which they heard, or some accident which excited ardour and emulation

It must be at least allowed that this *ruling passion*, antecedent to reason and observation, must have an object independent on human contrivance, for there can be no natural desire of artificial
 30 good No man therefore can be born, in the strict acceptation, a lover of money, for he may be born where money does not exist, nor can he be born, in a moral sense, a lover of his country, for society, politically regulated, is a state contradistinguished from a state of nature, and any attention to that coalition of interests which makes the happiness of a country, is possible only to those whom inquiry and reflection have enabled to comprehend it

This doctrine is in itself pernicious as well as false, its tendency is to produce the belief of a kind of moral predestination, or overruling principle which cannot be resisted, he that admits it, is
 40 prepared to comply with every desire that caprice or opportunity shall excite, and to flatter himself that he submits only to the lawful

dominion of Nature, in obeying the resistless authority of his *ruling passion*.

Pope has formed his theory with so little skill that, in the examples by which he illustrates and confirms it, he has confounded passions, appetites, and habits

To the "Characters of Men" he added soon after, in an Epistle supposed to have been addressed to Martha Blount, but which the last edition has taken from her, the "Characters of Women" This poem, which was laboured with great diligence, and in the author's opinion with great success, was neglected at its first publication, as the commentator supposes, because the public was informed, by an advertisement, that it contained *no character drawn from the life*, an assertion which Pope probably did not expect or wish to have been believed, and which he soon gave his readers sufficient reason to distrust, by telling them in a note that the work was imperfect, because part of his subject was *vice too high* to be yet exposed. 10

The time however soon came in which it was safe to display the Duchess of Marlborough under the name of Atossa, and her character was inserted, with no great honour to the writer's gratitude 20

He published from time to time (between 1730 and 1740) imitations of different poems of Horace, generally with his name, and once as was suspected without it What he was upon moral principles ashamed to own, he ought to have suppressed Of these pieces it is useless to settle the dates, as they had seldom much relation to the times, and perhaps had been long in his hands

This mode of imitation, in which the ancients are familiarised by adapting their sentiments to modern topics, by making Horace say of Shakespeare what he originally said of Ennius, and accommodating his satires on Pantolabus and Nomentanus to the flatterers and prodigals of our time, was first practised in the reign of Charles the Second by Oldham and Rochester; at least I remember no instances more ancient. It is a kind of middle composition between translation and original design, which pleases when the thoughts are unexpectedly applicable, and the parallels lucky It seems to have been Pope's favourite amusement, for he has carried it further than any former poet 30

He published likewise a revival, in smother numbers, of Dr Donne's Satires, which was recommended to him by the Duke of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Oxford. They made no great impression on the public. Pope seems to have known their imbecility, 40

and therefore suppressed them while he was yet contending to rise in reputation, but ventured them when he thought their deficiencies more likely to be imputed to Donne than to himself

The Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot, which seems to be derived in its first design from Boileau's "*Address a son Esprit*," was published in January, 1735, about a month before the death of him to whom it is inscribed. It is to be regretted that either honour or pleasure should have been missed by Arbuthnot, a man estimable for his learning, amiable for his life, and venerable for his piety

- 10 Arbuthnot was a man of great comprehension, skilful in his profession, versed in the sciences, acquainted with ancient literature, and able to animate his mass of knowledge by a bright and active imagination; a scholar with great brilliancy of wit, a wit, who, in the crowd of life, retained and discovered a noble ardour of religious zeal

In this poem Pope seems to reckon with the public. He vindicates himself from censures, and with dignity, rather than arrogance, enforces his own claims to kindness and respect

- 20 Into this poem are interwoven several paragraphs which had been before printed as a fragment, and among them the satirical lines upon Addison, of which the last couplet has been twice corrected. It was at first,

"Who would not smile if such a man there be?
Who would not laugh if Addison were he?"

Then,

"Who would not grieve if such a man there be?
Who would not laugh if Addison were he?"

At last it is,

- 30 "Who but must laugh if such a man there be?
Who would not weep if Atticus were he?"

He was at this time at open war with Lord Hervey, who had distinguished himself as a steady adherent to the Ministry, and, being offended with a contemptuous answer to one of his pamphlets, had summoned Pulteney to a duel. Whether he or Pope made the first attack, perhaps cannot now be easily known. He had written an invective against Pope, whom he calls, *Hard as thy heart, and as thy birth obscure*, and hints that his father was a *hatter*. To this Pope wrote a reply in verse and prose. The verses are in this poem, and the prose, though it was never sent, is printed among his letters,

but to a cool reader of the present time exhibits nothing but tedious malignity

His last satires of the general kind were two Dialogues, named from the year in which they were published, "Seventeen Hundred and Thirty-eight" In these poems many are praised and many are reproached Pope was then entangled in the Opposition, a follower of the Prince of Wales, who dined at his house, and the friend of many who obstructed and censured the conduct of the Ministers. His political partiality was too plainly shewn, he forgot the prudence with which he passed in his earlier years, uninjured and un- 10 offending, through much more violent conflicts of faction

In the first Dialogue, having an opportunity of praising Allen of Bath, he asked his leave to mention him as a man not illustrious by any merit of his ancestors, and called him in his verses *low-born Allen*. Men are seldom satisfied with praise introduced or followed by any mention of defect Allen seems not to have taken any pleasure in his epithet, which was afterwards softened into *humble Allen*

In the second Dialogue he took some liberty with one of the Foxes, among others, which Fox, in a reply to Lyttelton, took an 20 opportunity of repaying by reproaching him with the friendship of a lampooner, who scattered his ink without fear or decency, and against whom he hoped the resentment of the Legislature would quickly be discharged

About this time Paul Whitehead, a small poet, was summoned before the Lords for a poem called "Manners," together with Dodsley his publisher Whitehead, who hung loose upon society, skulked and escaped, but Dodsley's shop and family made his appearance necessary He was, however, soon dismissed, and the whole process was probably intended rather to intimidate Pope than to 30 punish Whitehead

Pope never afterwards attempted to join the patriot with the poet, nor drew his pen upon statesmen That he desisted from his attempts of reformation is imputed, by his commentator, to his despair of prevailing over the corruption of the time He was not likely to have been ever of opinion that the dread of his satire would countervail the love of power or of money, he pleased himself with being important and formidable, and gratified sometimes his pride, and sometimes his resentment, till at last he began to think he should be more safe, if he were less busy

The "Memoirs of Scriblerus," published about this time, extend only to the first book of a work projected in concert by Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot, who used to meet in the time of Queen Anne, and denominated themselves the *Scriblerus Club*. Their purpose was to censure the abuses of learning by a fictitious Life of an infatuated scholar. They were dispersed, the design was never completed, and Warburton laments its miscarriage, as an event very disastrous to polite letters.

If the whole may be estimated by this specimen, which seems to
 10 be the production of Arbuthnot, with a few touches perhaps by Pope, the want of more will not be much lamented, for the follies which the writer ridicules are so little practised, that they are not known, nor can the satire be understood but by the learned. He raises phantoms of absurdity, and then drives them away. He cures diseases that were never felt.

For this reason this joint production of three great writers has never obtained any notice from mankind, it has been little read, or when read has been forgotten, as no man could be wiser, better, or merrier, by remembering it.

20 The design cannot boast of much originality, for, besides its general resemblance to "Don Quixote," there will be found in it particular imitations of the "History of Mr. Ouffe."

Swift carried so much of it into Ireland as supplied him with hints for his "Travels," and with those the world might have been contented, though the rest had been suppressed.

Pope had sought for images and sentiments in a region not known to have been explored by many other of the English writers, he had consulted the modern writers of Latin poetry, a class of authors whom Boileau endeavoured to bring into contempt,
 30 and who are too generally neglected. Pope, however, was not ashamed of their acquaintance, nor ungrateful for the advantages which he might have derived from it. A small selection from the Italians who wrote in Latin had been published at London, about the latter end of the last century, by a man who concealed his name, but whom his Preface shews to have been well qualified for his undertaking. This collection Pope amplified by more than half, and (1740) published it in two volumes, but injuriously omitted his predecessor's Preface. To these books, which had nothing but the mere text, no regard was paid, the authors were still neglected, and the
 40 editor was neither praised nor censured.

He did not sink into idleness, he had planned a work, which he considered as subsequent to his "Essay on Man," of which he has given this account to Dr Swift

"March 25, 1736

"If ever I write any more Epistles in verse, one of them shall be addressed to you I have long concerted it, and begun it, but I would make what bears your name as finished as my last work ought to be, that is to say, more finished than any of the rest The subject is large, and will divide into four Epistles, which naturally follow the 'Essay on Man,' viz. 1 Of the Extent and Limits of 10 Human Reason and Science. 2 A View of the Useful and therefore Attainable, and of the Unuseful and therefore Unattainable Arts 3 Of the Nature, Ends, Application, and Use of different Capacities 4 Of the Use of Learning, of the Science, of the World, and of Wit It will conclude with a satire against the misapplication of all these, exemplified by Pictures, Characters, and Examples"

This work in its full extent, being now afflicted with an asthma, and finding the powers of life gradually declining, he had no longer courage to undertake, but, from the materials which he had provided, he added, at Warburton's request, another book to the "Dunciad," of which the design is to ridicule such studies as are either 20 hopeless or useless, as either pursue what is unattainable, or what, if it be attained, is of no use

When this book was printed (1742) the laurel had been for some time upon the head of Cibber, a man whom it cannot be supposed that Pope could regard with much kindness or esteem, though in one of the Imitations of Horace he has liberally enough praised the "Careless Husband" In the "Dunciad," among other worthless scribblers, he had mentioned Cibber, who, in his "Apology," complains of the great poet's unkindness as more injurious, *because*, 30 *says he, I never have offended him.*

It might have been expected that Pope should have been, in some degree, mollified by this submissive gentleness, but no such consequence appeared Though he condescended to commend Cibber once, he mentioned him afterwards contemptuously in one of his Satires, and again in his Epistle to Arbuthnot, and in the fourth book of the "Dunciad" attacked him with acrimony, to which the provocation is not easily discoverable. Perhaps he imagined that, in ridiculing the Laureat, he satirised those by whom the laurel had been given, and gratified that ambitious petulance with which he 40 affected to insult the great

The severity of this satire left Cibber no longer any patience. He had confidence enough in his own powers to believe that he could disturb the quiet of his adversary, and doubtless did not want instigators, who, without any care about the victory, desired to amuse themselves by looking on the contest. He therefore gave the town a pamphlet, in which he declares his resolution from that time never to bear another blow without returning it, and to tire out his adversary by perseverance, if he cannot conquer him by strength.

- 10 The incessant and unappeasable malignity of Pope he imputes to a very distant cause. After the "Three Hours after Marriage" had been driven off the stage, by the offence which the mummy and crocodile gave the audience, while the exploded scene was yet fresh in memory, it happened that Cibber played Bayes in the "Rehearsal;" and, as it had been usual to enliven the part by the mention of any recent theatrical transactions, he said that he once thought to have introduced his lovers disguised in a mummy and a crocodile. "This," says he, "was received with loud claps, which indicated contempt of the play." Pope, who was behind the scenes, meeting him as
- 20 he left the stage, attacked him, as he says, with all the virulence of a *wit out of his senses*; to which he replied, "that he would take no other notice of what was said by so particular a man than to declare that, as often as he played that part, he would repeat the same provocation."

He shows his opinion to be that Pope was one of the authors of the play which he so zealously defended, and adds an idle story of Pope's behaviour at a tavern.

- The pamphlet was written with little power of thought or language, and, if suffered to remain without notice, would have been
- 30 very soon forgotten. Pope had now been enough acquainted with human life to know, if his passion had not been too powerful for his understanding, that from a contention like his with Cibber the world seeks nothing but diversion, which is given at the expense of the higher character. When Cibber lampooned Pope, curiosity was excited, what Pope would say of Cibber nobody inquired but in hope that Pope's asperity might betray his pain, and lessen his dignity.

- He should therefore have suffered the pamphlet to flutter and die, without confessing that it stung him. The dishonour of being
- 40 shewn as Cibber's antagonist could never be compensated by the victory. Cibber had nothing to lose, when Pope had exhausted all

his malignity upon him, he would rise in the esteem both of his friends and his enemies. Silence only could have made him despicable, the blow which did not appear to be felt would have been struck in vain.

But Pope's irascibility prevailed, and he resolved to tell the whole English world that he was at war with Cibber, and to shew that he thought him no common adversary, he prepared no common vengeance, he published a new edition of the "Dunciad," in which he degraded Theobald from his painful pre-eminence, and enthroned Cibber in his stead. Unhappily the two heroes were of opposite 10 characters, and Pope was unwilling to lose what he had already written, he has therefore depraved his poem by giving to Cibber the old books, the cold pedantry and sluggish pertinacity of Theobald.

Pope was ignorant enough of his own interest to make another change, and introduced Osborne contending for the prize among the booksellers. Osborne was a man entirely destitute of shame, without sense of any disgrace but that of poverty. He told me, when he was doing that which raised Pope's resentment, that he should be put into the "Dunciad;" but he had the fate of Cassandra. I 20 gave no credit to his prediction, till in time I saw it accomplished. The shafts of satire were directed equally in vain against Cibber and Osborne, being repelled by the impenetrable impudence of one, and deadened by the impassive dulness of the other. Pope confessed his own pain by his anger, but he gave no pain to those who had provoked him. He was able to hurt none but himself, by transferring the same ridicule from one to another, he destroyed its efficacy, for, by shewing that what he had said of one he was ready to say of another, he reduced himself to the insignificance of his own magpye, who from his cage calls cuckold at a venture. 30

Cibber, according to his engagement, repaid the "Dunciad" with another pamphlet, which, Pope said, *would be as good as a dose of hairshorn to him*, but his tongue and his heart were at variance. I have heard Mr Richardson relate that he attended his father the painter on a visit, when one of Cibber's pamphlets came into the hands of Pope, who said, *These things are my diversion*. They sat by him while he perused it, and saw his features writhen with anguish, and young Richardson said to his father, when they returned, that he hoped to be preserved from such diversion as had been that day the lot of Pope.

From this time, finding his diseases more oppressive, and his vital powers gradually declining, he no longer strained his faculties

with any original composition, nor proposed any other employment for his remaining life than the revision and correction of his former works, in which he received advice and assistance from Warburton, whom he appears to have trusted and honoured in the highest degree

He laid aside his epic poem, perhaps without much loss to mankind, for his hero was Brutus the Trojan, who, according to a ridiculous fiction, established a colony in Britain. The subject therefore was of the fabulous age, the actors were a race upon whom
 10 imagination has been exhausted, and attention wearied, and to whom the mind will not easily be recalled, when it is invited in blank verse, which Pope had adopted with great imprudence, and, I think, without due consideration of the nature of our language. The sketch is, at least in part, preserved by Ruffhead, by which it appears that Pope was thoughtless enough to model the names of his heroes with terminations not consistent with the time or country in which he places them.

He lingered through the next year, but perceived himself, as he expresses it, *going down the hill*. He had for at least five years been
 20 afflicted with an asthma and other disorders, which his physicians were unable to relieve. Towards the end of his life he consulted Dr Thomson, a man who had, by large promises, and free censures of the common practice of physic, forced himself up into sudden reputation. Thomson declared his distemper to be a dropsy, and evacuated part of the water by tincture of jalap, but confessed that his belly did not subside. Thomson had many enemies, and Pope was persuaded to dismiss him.

While he was yet capable of amusement and conversation, as he was one day sitting in the air with Lord Bolingbroke and Lord
 30 Marchmont, he saw his favourite Martha Blount at the bottom of the terrace, and asked Lord Bolingbroke to go and hand her up. Bolingbroke, not liking his errand, crossed his legs, and sat still, but Lord Marchmont, who was younger and less captious, waited on the lady, who, when he came to her, asked, *What, is he not dead yet?* She is said to have neglected him, with shameful unkindness, in the latter time of his decay, yet, of the little which he had to leave, she had a very great part. Their acquaintance began early, the life of each was pictured on the other's mind, their conversation therefore was endearing, for when they met there was an immediate
 40 coalition of congenial notions. Perhaps he considered her unwillingness to approach the chamber of sickness as female weakness, or

human frailty, perhaps he was conscious to himself of peevishness and impatience, or, though he was offended by her inattention, might yet consider her merit as overbalancing her fault; and, if he had suffered his heart to be alienated from her, he could have found nothing that might fill her place; he could have only shrunk within himself; it was too late to transfer his confidence or fondness.

In May, 1744, his death was approaching, on the sixth, he was all day delirious, which he mentioned four days afterwards as a sufficient humiliation of the vanity of man, he afterwards complained of seeing things as through a curtain, and in false colours, 10 and one day, in the presence of Dodsley, asked what arm it was that came out from the wall. He said that his greatest inconvenience was inability to think

Bolingbroke sometimes wept over him in this state of helpless decay; and being told by Spence that Pope, at the intermission of his deliriousness, was always saying something kind either of his present or absent friends, and that his humanity seemed to have survived his understanding, answered, *It has so* and added, *I never in my life knew a man that had so tender a heart for his particular friends, or more general friendship for mankind.* At another time he 20 said, *I have known Pope these thirty years, and value myself more in his friendship than—*his grief then suppressed his voice.

Pope expressed undoubting confidence of a future state. Being asked by his friend Mr Hooke, a papist, whether he would not die like his father and mother, and whether a priest should not be called, he answered, *I do not think it essential, but it will be very right, and I thank you for putting me in mind of it.*

In the morning, after the priest had given him the last sacraments, he said, "There is nothing that is meritorious but virtue and friendship, and indeed friendship itself is only a part of virtue" 30

He died in the evening of the thirtieth day of May, 1744, so placidly that the attendants did not discern the exact time of his expiration. He was buried at Twickenham, near his father and mother, where a monument has been erected to him by his commentator, the Bishop of Gloucester.

He left the care of his papers to his executors, first to Lord Bolingbroke, and if he should not be living, to the Earl of Marchmont, undoubtedly expecting them to be proud of the trust, and eager to extend his fame. But let no man dream of influence beyond his life. After a decent time Dodsley the bookseller went to solicit 40 preference as the publisher, and was told that the parcel had not

been yet inspected, and whatever was the reason, the world has been disappointed of what was *reserved for the next age*

He lost, indeed, the favour of Bolingbroke by a kind of posthumous offence. The political pamphlet called "The Patriot King" had been put into his hands that he might procure the impression of a very few copies, to be distributed according to the author's direction among his friends, and Pope assured him that no more had been printed than were allowed, but, soon after his death, the printer brought and resigned a complete edition of fifteen hundred
 10 copies, which Pope had ordered him to print, and to retain in secret. He kept, as was observed, his engagement to Pope better than Pope had kept it to his friend, and nothing was known of the transaction, till, upon the death of his employer, he thought himself obliged to deliver the books to the right owner, who, with great indignation, made a fire in his yard, and delivered the whole impression to the flames

Hitherto nothing had been done which was not naturally dictated by resentment of violated faith, resentment more acrimonious, as the violator had been more loved or more trusted. But here the
 20 anger might have stopped, the injury was private, and there was little danger from the example

Bolingbroke, however, was not yet satisfied, his thirst of vengeance excited him to blast the memory of the man over whom he had wept in his last struggles, and he employed Mallet, another friend of Pope, to tell the tale to the public, with all its aggravations. Warburton, whose heart was warm with his legacy, and tender by the recent separation, thought it proper for him to interpose, and undertook, not indeed to vindicate the action, for breach of trust has always something criminal, but to extenuate it by an
 30 apology. Having advanced, what cannot be denied, that moral obliquity is made more or less excusable by the motives that produce it, he enquires what evil purpose could have induced Pope to break his promise. He could not delight his vanity by usurping the work, which, though not sold in shops, had been shewn to a number more than sufficient to preserve the author's claim, he could not gratify his avarice, for he could not sell his plunder till Bolingbroke was dead, and even then, if the copy was left to another, his fraud would be defeated, and if left to himself, would be useless

Warburton therefore supposes, with great appearance of reason,
 40 that the irregularity of his conduct proceeded wholly from his zeal for Bolingbroke, who might perhaps have destroyed the pamphlet,

which Pope thought it his duty to preserve, even without its author's approbation. To this apology an answer was written in a *Letter to the most impudent man living*

He brought some reproach upon his own memory by the petulant and contemptuous mention made in his will of Mr Allen, and an affected repayment of his benefactions Mrs Blount, as the known friend and favourite of Pope, had been invited to the house of Allen, where she comported herself with such indecent arrogance, that she parted from Mrs Allen in a state of irreconcilable dislike, and the door was for ever barred against her This exclusion she resented 10 with so much bitterness as to refuse any legacy from Pope, unless he left the world with a disavowal of obligation to Allen Having been long under her dominion, now tottering in the decline of life, and unable to resist the violence of her temper, or perhaps, with the prejudice of a lover, persuaded that she had suffered improper treatment, he complied with her demand, and polluted his will with female resentment Allen accepted the legacy, which he gave to the hospital at Bath; observing that Pope was always a bad accomptant, and that if to 150l he had put a cypher more, he had come nearer to the truth 20

The person of Pope is well known not to have been formed by the nicest model He has, in his account of the *Little Club*, compared himself to a spider, and by another is described as protuberant behind and before He is said to have been beautiful in his infancy, but he was of a constitution originally feeble and weak, and as bodies of a tender frame are easily distorted, his deformity was probably in part the effect of his application His stature was so low that, to bring him to a level with common tables, it was necessary to raise his seat But his face was not displeasing, and his eyes were animated and vivid 30

By natural deformity, or accidental distortion, his vital functions were so much disordered that his life was *a long disease* His most frequent assailant was the headache, which he used to relieve by inhaling the steam of coffee, which he very frequently required

Most of what can be told concerning his petty peculiarities was communicated by a female domestic of the Earl of Oxford, who knew him perhaps after the middle of life He was then so weak as to stand in perpetual need of female attendance; extremely sensible of cold, so that he wore a kind of fur doublet, under a shirt of very coarse warm linen with fine sleeves When he rose, he was 40 invested in boddice made of stiff canvas, being scarce able to hold

himself erect till they were laced, and he then put on a flannel waistcoat One side was contracted His legs were so slender, that he enlarged their bulk with three pair of stockings, which were drawn on and off by the maid, for he was not able to dress or undress himself, and neither went to bed nor rose without help His weakness made it very difficult for him to be clean

His hair had fallen almost all away, and he used to dine sometimes with Lord Oxford, privately, in a velvet cap His dress of ceremony was black with a tye-wig, and a little sword

- 10 The indulgence and accommodation which his sickness required, had taught him all the unpleasing and unsocial qualities of a valetudinary man He expected that every thing should give way to his ease or humour, as a child, whose parents will not hear her cry, has an unresisted dominion in the nursery

*C'est que l'enfant toujours est homme,
C'est que l'homme est toujours enfant*

When he wanted to sleep he *nodded in company*, and once slumbered at his own table while the Prince of Wales was talking of poetry

- 20 The reputation which his friendship gave procured him many invitations, but he was a very troublesome inmate He brought no servant, and had so many wants, that a numerous attendance was scarcely able to supply them Wherever he was, he left no room for another, because he exacted the attention, and employed the activity, of the whole family His errands were so frequent and frivolous, that the footmen in time avoided and neglected him, and the Earl of Oxford discharged some of the servants for their resolute refusal of his messages The maids, when they had neglected their business, alleged that they had been employed by Mr Pope
- 30 One of his constant demands was of coffee in the night, and to the woman that waited on him in his chamber he was very burdensome, but he was careful to recompense her want of sleep, and Lord Oxford's servant declared that, in a house where her business was to answer his call, she would not ask for wages

He had another fault, easily incident to those who, suffering much pain, think themselves entitled to whatever pleasures they can snatch He was too indulgent to his appetite, he loved meat highly seasoned and of strong taste; and, at the intervals of the table, amused himself with biscuits and dry conserves If he sat

40 down to a variety of dishes, he would oppress his stomach with

repletion, and though he seemed angry when a dram was offered him, did not forbear to drink it. His friends, who knew the avenues to his heart, pampered him with presents of luxury, which he did not suffer to stand neglected. The death of great men is not always proportioned to the lustre of their lives. Hannibal, says Juvenal, did not perish by the javelin or the sword, the slaughters of Cannæ were revenged by a ring. The death of Pope was imputed by some of his friends to a silver saucepan, in which it was his delight to heat potted lampreys.

That he loved too well to eat, is certain; but that his sensuality 10 shortened his life will not be hastily concluded, when it is remembered that a conformation so irregular lasted six and fifty years, notwithstanding such pertinacious diligence of study and meditation.

In all his intercourse with mankind he had great delight in artifice, and endeavoured to attain all his purposes by indirect and unsuspected methods. *He hardly drank tea without a stratagem.* If, at the house of his friends, he wanted any accommodation, he was not willing to ask for it in plain terms, but would mention it remotely as something convenient, though, when it was procured, he soon 20 made it appear for whose sake it had been recommended. Thus he teased Lord Orrery till he obtained a screen. He practised his arts on such small occasions, that Lady Bolingbroke used to say, in a French phrase, that *he played the politician about cabbages and turnips.* His unjustifiable impression of the "Patriot King," as it can be imputed to no particular motive, must have proceeded from his general habit of secrecy and cunning, he caught an opportunity of a sly trick, and pleased himself with the thought of outwitting Bolingbroke.

In familiar or convivial conversation it does not appear that he 30 excelled. He may be said to have resembled Dryden, as being not one that was distinguished by vivacity in company. It is remarkable that, so near his time, so much should be known of what he has written, and so little of what he has said. traditional memory retains no sallies of raillery, nor sentences of observation, nothing either pointed or solid, either wise or merry. One apophthegm only stands upon record. When an objection raised against his inscription for Shakespeare was defended by the authority of Patrick, he replied—*homo scio referens*—that *he would allow the publisher of a Dictionary to know the meaning of a single word, but not of two words 40 put together.*

He was fretful, and easily displeased, and allowed himself to be capriciously resentful. He would sometimes leave Lord Oxford silently, no one could tell why, and was to be courted back by more letters and messages than the footmen were willing to carry. The table was indeed infested by Lady Mary Wortley, who was the friend of Lady Oxford, and who, knowing his peevishness, could by no entreaties be restrained from contradicting him, till their disputes were sharpened to such asperity that one or the other quitted the house.

- 10 He sometimes condescended to be jocular with servants or inferiors, but by no merriment, either of others or his own, was he ever seen excited to laughter.

Of his domestic character frugality was a part eminently remarkable. Having determined not to be dependent, he determined not to be in want, and therefore wisely and magnanimously rejected all temptations to expense unsuitable to his fortune. This general care must be universally approved, but it sometimes appeared in petty artifices of parsimony, such as the practice of writing his compositions on the back of letters, as may be seen in the remaining
20 copy of the "Iliad," by which perhaps in five years five shillings were saved, or in a niggardly reception of his friends, and scantiness of entertainment, as, when he had two guests in his house, he would set at supper a single pint upon the table, and having himself taken two small glasses would retire, and say, *Gentlemen, I leave you to your wine*. Yet he tells his friends that *he has a heart for all, a house for all, and, whatever they may think, a fortune for all*.

He sometimes, however, made a splendid dinner, and is said to have wanted no part of the skill or elegance which such performances require. That this magnificence should be often displayed,
30 that obstinate prudence with which he conducted his affairs would not permit, for his revenue, certain and casual, amounted only to about eight hundred pounds a year, of which however he declares himself able to assign one hundred to charity.

Of this fortune, which, as it arose from public approbation, was very honourably obtained, his imagination seems to have been too full. It would be hard to find a man, so well entitled to notice by his wit, that ever delighted so much in talking of his money. In his letters and in his poems his garden and his grotto, his quincunx and his vines, or some hints of his opulence, are always to be found.
40 The great topic of his ridicule is poverty, the crimes with which he reproaches his antagonists are their debts, their habitation in the

Mint, and their want of a dinner He seems to be of an opinion not very uncommon in the world, that to want money is to want every thing

Next to the pleasure of contemplating his possessions seems to be that of enumerating the men of high rank with whom he was acquainted, and whose notice he loudly proclaims not to have been obtained by any practices of meanness or servility, a boast which was never denied to be true, and to which very few poets have ever aspired Pope never set his genius to sale, he never flattered those whom he did not love, or praised those whom he did not esteem 10
Savage however remarked that he began a little to relax his dignity when he wrote a distich for *his Highness's dog*

His admiration of the great seems to have increased in the advance of life He passed over peers and statesmen to inscribe his "Iliad" to Congreve, with a magnanimity of which the praise had been complete, had his friend's virtue been equal to his wit Why he was chosen for so great an honour, it is not now possible to know, there is no trace in literary history of any particular intimacy between them The name of Congreve appears in the letters among those of his other friends, but without any observable distinction or consequence 20

To his latter works, however, he took care to annex names dignified with titles, but was not very happy in his choice, for, except Lord Bathurst, none of his noble friends were such as that a good man would wish to have his intimacy with them known to posterity he can derive little honour from the notice of Cobham, Burlington, or Bolingbroke

Of his social qualities, if an estimate be made from his letters, an opinion too favourable cannot easily be formed, they exhibit a perpetual and unclouded effulgence of general benevolence, and particular fondness 30
There is nothing but liberality, gratitude, constancy, and tenderness It has been so long said as to be commonly believed, that the true characters of men may be found in their letters, and that he who writes to his friend lays his heart open before him But the truth is that such were the simple friendships of the Golden Age, and are now the friendships only of children Very few can boast of hearts which they dare lay open to themselves, and of which, by whatever accident exposed, they do not shun a distinct and continued view, and, certainly, what we hide from ourselves we do not shew to our friends There is, indeed, 40
no transaction which offers stronger temptation to fallacy and

sophistication than epistolary intercourse In the eagerness of conversation the first emotions of the mind often burst out, before they are considered, in the tumult of business, interest and passion have their genuine effect, but a friendly letter is a calm and deliberate performance, in the cool of leisure, in the stillness of solitude, and surely no man sits down to depreciate by design his own character

Friendship has no tendency to secure veracity for by whom can a man so much wish to be thought better than he is, as by him whose kindness he desires to gain or keep? Even in writing to the
 10 world there is less constraint, the author is not confronted with his reader, and takes his chance of approbation among the different dispositions of mankind, but a letter is addressed to a single mind, of which the prejudices and partialities are known, and must therefore please, if not by favouring them, by forbearing to oppose them.

To charge those favourable representations, which men give of their own minds, with the guilt of hypocritical falsehood, would shew more severity than knowledge The writer commonly believes himself Almost every man's thoughts, while they are general, are right and most hearts are pure, while temptation is away It is
 20 easy to awaken generous sentiments in privacy, to despise death when there is no danger, to glow with benevolence when there is nothing to be given While such ideas are formed they are felt, and self-love does not suspect the gleam of virtue to be the meteor of fancy

If the letters of Pope are considered merely as compositions, they seem to be premeditated and artificial It is one thing to write because there is something which the mind wishes to discharge, and another to solicit the imagination because ceremony or vanity requires something to be written Pope confesses his early letters
 30 to be vitiated with *affectation and ambition* to know whether he disentangled himself from these perverters of epistolary integrity, his book and his life must be set in comparison

One of his favourite topics is contempt of his own poetry For this, if it had been real, he would deserve no commendation, and in this he was certainly not sincere, for his high value of himself was sufficiently observed, and of what could he be proud but of his poetry? He writes, he says, when *he has just nothing else to do*, yet Swift complains that he was never at leisure for conversation, because he *had always some poetical scheme in his head* It was
 40 punctually required that his writing-box should be set upon his bed before he rose, and Lord Oxford's domestic related that, in the

dreadful winter of Forty, she was called from her bed by him four times in one night, to supply him with paper, lest he should lose a thought

He pretends insensibility to censure and criticism, though it was observed by all who knew him that every pamphlet disturbed his quiet, and that his extreme irritability laid him open to perpetual vexation, but he wished to despise his critics, and therefore hoped that he did despise them

As he happened to live in two reigns when the Court paid little attention to poetry, he nursed in his mind a foolish disesteem 10 of kings, and proclaims that *he never sees courts*. Yet a little regard shewn him by the Prince of Wales melted his obduracy, and he had not much to say when he was asked by his Royal Highness, *how he could love a prince while he disliked kings.*

He very frequently professes contempt of the world, and represents himself as looking on mankind, sometimes with gay indifference, as on emmets of a hillock, below his serious attention; and sometimes with gloomy indignation, as on monsters more worthy of hatred than of pity. These were dispositions apparently counterfeited. How could he despise those whom he lived by pleasing, 20 and on whose approbation his esteem of himself was superstructed? Why should he hate those to whose favour he owed his honour and his ease? Of things that terminate in human life the world is the proper judge, to despise its sentence, if it were possible, is not just; and if it were just, is not possible. Pope was far enough from this unreasonable temper, he was sufficiently *a fool to fame*, and his fault was that he pretended to neglect it. His levity and his sullenness were only in his letters, he passed through common life, sometimes vexed, and sometimes pleased, with the natural emotions of common men 30

His scorn of the great is repeated too often to be real; no man thinks much of that which he despises, and as falsehood is always in danger of inconsistency, he makes it his boast at another time that he lives among them.

It is evident that his own importance swells often in his mind. He is afraid of writing, lest the clerks of the Post-office should know his secrets, he has many enemies; he considers himself as surrounded by universal jealousy; *after many deaths, and many dis-*
persions, two or three of us, says he, may still be brought together, not
to plot, but to divert ourselves, and the world too, if it pleases; and 40
they can live together, and shew what friends wits may be, in spite

of all the fools in the world All this while it was likely that the clerks did not know his hand, he certainly had no more enemies than a public character like his inevitably excites, and with what degree of friendship the wits might live, very few were so much fools as ever to inquire

Some part of this pretended discontent he learned from Swift, and expresses it, I think, most frequently in his correspondence with him. Swift's resentment was unreasonable, but it was sincere, Pope's was the mere mimicry of his friend, a fictitious part which
 10 he began to play before it became him. When he was only twenty-five years old, he related that *a glut of study and retirement had thrown him on the world*, and that there was danger lest *a glut of the world should throw him back upon study and retirement*. To this Swift answered with great propriety, that Pope had not yet either acted or suffered enough in the world to have become weary of it. And, indeed, it must be some very powerful reason that can drive back to solitude him who has once enjoyed the pleasures of society

In the letters both of Swift and Pope there appears such narrowness of mind, as makes them insensible of any excellence that has
 20 not some affinity with their own, and confines their esteem and approbation to so small a number, that whoever should form his opinion of the age from their representation would suppose them to have lived amidst ignorance and barbarity, unable to find among their contemporaries either virtue or intelligence, and persecuted by those that could not understand them

When Pope murmurs at the world, when he professes contempt of fame, when he speaks of riches and poverty, of success and disappointment, with negligent indifference, he certainly does not express his habitual and settled sentiments, but either wilfully dis-
 30 guises his own character, or, what is more likely, invests himself with temporary qualities, and sallies out in the colours of the present moment. His hopes and fears, his joys and sorrows, acted strongly upon his mind, and if he differed from others, it was not by carelessness, he was irritable and resentful, his malignity to Philips, whom he had first made ridiculous, and then hated for being
 35 angry, continued too long. Of his vain desire to make Bentley contemptible I never heard any adequate reason. He was sometimes wanton in his attacks, and, before Chandos, Lady Wortley, and Hill, was mean in his retreat

40 The virtues which seem to have had most of his affection were liberality and fidelity of friendship, in which it does not appear

that he was other than he describes himself His fortune did not suffer his charity to be splendid and conspicuous, but he assisted Dodsley with a hundred pounds, that he might open a shop, and of the subscription of forty pounds a year that he raised for Savage, twenty were paid by himself He was accused of loving money, but his love was eagerness to gain, not solicitude to keep it

In the duties of friendship he was zealous and constant, his early maturity of mind commonly united him with men older than himself, and therefore, without attaining any considerable length of life, he saw many companions of his youth sink into the grave, but 10 it does not appear that he lost a single friend by coldness or by injury, those who loved him once, continued their kindness His ungrateful mention of Allen in his will was the effect of his adherence to one whom he had known much longer, and whom he naturally loved with greater fondness His violation of the trust reposed in him by Bolingbroke could have no motive inconsistent with the warmest affection, he either thought the action so near the indifferent that he forgot it, or so laudable that he expected his friend to approve it

It was reported, with such confidence as almost to enforce be- 20 lief, that in the papers intrusted to his executors was found a defamatory Life of Swift, which he had prepared as an instrument of vengeance to be used, if any provocation should be ever given About this I enquired of the Earl of Marchmont, who assured me that no such piece was among his remains

The religion in which he lived and died was that of the Church of Rome, to which in his correspondence with Racine he professes himself a sincere adherent That he was not scrupulously pious in some part of his life, is known by many idle and indecent applications of sentences taken from the Scriptures, a mode of merriment 30 which a good man dreads for its profaneness, and a witty man disdains for its easiness and vulgarity But to whatever levities he has been betrayed, it does not appear that his principles were ever corrupted, or that he ever lost his belief of revelation The positions which he transmitted from Bolingbroke he seems not to have understood, and was pleased with an interpretation that made them orthodox

A man of such exalted superiority, and so little moderation, would naturally have all his delinquencies observed and aggravated, those who could not deny that he was excellent, would rejoice to 40 find that he was not perfect

Perhaps it may be imputed to the unwillingness with which the same man is allowed to possess many advantages, that his learning has been depreciated. He certainly was in his early life a man of great literary curiosity, and when he wrote his "Essay on Criticism" had, for his age, a very wide acquaintance with books. When he entered into the living world, it seems to have happened to him as to many others, that he was less attentive to dead masters, he studied in the academy of Paracelsus, and made the universe his favourite volume. He gathered his notions fresh
 10 from reality, not from the copies of authors, but the originals of nature. Yet there is no reason to believe that literature ever lost his esteem, he always professed to love reading, and Dobson, who spent some time at his house translating his "Essay on Man," when I asked him what learning he found him to possess, answered, *More than I expected*. His frequent references to history, his allusions to various kinds of knowledge, and his images selected from art and nature, with his observations on the operations of the mind and the modes of *life*, shew an intelligence perpetually on the wing, excursive, vigorous, and diligent, eager to pursue knowledge,
 20 and attentive to retain it.

From this curiosity arose the desire of travelling, to which he alludes in his verses to Jervas, and which, though he never found an opportunity to gratify it, did not leave him till his life declined.

Of his intellectual character the constituent and fundamental principle was good sense, a prompt and intuitive perception of consonance and propriety. He saw immediately, of his own conceptions what was to be chosen, and what to be rejected, and, in the works of others, what was to be shunned, and what was to be copied.

30 But good sense alone is a sedate and quiescent quality, which manages its possessions well, but does not increase them, it collects few materials for its own operations, and preserves safety, but never gains supremacy. Pope had likewise genius, a mind active, ambitious, and adventurous, always investigating, always aspiring, in its widest searches still longing to go forward, in its highest flights still wishing to be higher, always imagining something greater than it knows, always endeavouring more than it can do.

To assist these powers, he is said to have had great strength and exactness of memory. That which he had heard or read was
 40 not easily lost, and he had before him not only what his own

meditation suggested, but what he had found in other writers, that might be accommodated to his present purpose

These benefits of nature he improved by incessant and unwearièd diligence, he had recourse to every source of intelligence, and lost no opportunity of information; he consulted the living as well as the dead, he read his compositions to his friends, and was never content with mediocrity when excellence could be attained. He considered poetry as the business of his life, and however he might seem to lament his occupation, he followed it with constancy, to make verses was his first labour, and to mend them was his last 10

From his attention to poetry he was never diverted. If conversation offered any thing that could be improved, he committed it to paper, if a thought, or perhaps an expression more happy than was common, rose to his mind, he was careful to write it, an independent distich was preserved for an opportunity of insertion, and some little fragments have been found containing lines, or parts of lines, to be wrought upon at some other time

He was one of those few whose labour is their pleasure. he was never elevated to negligence, nor wearied to impatience, he never passed a fault unamended by indifference, nor quitted it by despair. 20 He laboured his works first to gain reputation, and afterwards to keep it

Of composition there are different methods. Some employ at once memory and invention, and, with little intermediate use of the pen, form and polish large masses by continued meditation, and write their productions only when, in their own opinion, they have completed them. It is related of Virgil, that his custom was to pour out a great number of verses in the morning, and pass the day in retrenching exuberances and correcting inaccuracies. The method of Pope, as may be collected from his translation, was to write his 30 first thoughts in his first words, and gradually to amplify, decorate, rectify, and refine them

With such faculties, and such dispositions, he excelled every other writer in *poetical prudence*, he wrote in such a manner as might expose him to few hazards. He used almost always the same fabric of verse, and, indeed, by those few essays which he made of any other he did not enlarge his reputation. Of this uniformity the certain consequence was readiness and dexterity. By perpetual practice language had in his mind a systematical arrangement, having always the same use for words, he had words so 40

selected and combined as to be ready at his call This increase of facility he confessed himself to have perceived in the progress of his translation

But what was yet of more importance, his effusions were always voluntary, and his subjects chosen by himself His independence secured him from drudging at a task, and labouring upon a barren topic, he never exchanged praise for money, nor opened a shop of condolence or congratulation His poems, therefore, were scarce ever temporary He suffered coronations and royal marriages to
 10 pass without a song, and derived no opportunities from recent events, nor any popularity from the accidental disposition of his readers He was never reduced to the necessity of soliciting the sun to shine upon a birthday, of calling the Graces and Virtues to a wedding, or of saying what multitudes have said before him When he could produce nothing new, he was at liberty to be silent

His publications were for the same reason never hasty He is said to have sent nothing to the press till it had lain two years under his inspection it is at least certain that he ventured nothing without nice examination He suffered the tumult of imagination
 20 to subside, and the novelties of invention to grow familiar He knew that the mind is always enamoured of its own productions, and did not trust his first fondness He consulted his friends, and listened with great willingness to criticism, and, what was of more importance, he consulted himself, and let nothing pass against his own judgment

He professed to have learned his poetry from Dryden, whom, whenever an opportunity was presented, he praised through his whole life with unvaried liberality, and perhaps his character may receive some illustration, if he be compared with his master

Integrity of understanding and nicety of discernment were not allotted in a less proportion to Dryden than to Pope The rectitude of Dryden's mind was sufficiently shewn by the dismissal of his poetical prejudices, and the rejection of unnatural thoughts and rugged numbers But Dryden never desired to apply all the judgment that he had He wrote, and professed to write, merely for the people, and when he pleased others, he contented himself He spent no time in struggles to rouse latent powers, he never attempted to make that better which was already good, nor often to mend what he must have known to be faulty He wrote, as he
 40 tells us, with very little consideration; when occasion or necessity called upon him, he poured out what the present moment happened

to supply, and, when once it had passed the press, ejected it from his mind, for when he had no pecuniary interest, he had no further solicitude

Pope was not content to satisfy, he desired to excel, and therefore always endeavoured to do his best; he did not court the candour, but dared the judgment of his reader, and, expecting no indulgence from others, he showed none to himself. He examined lines and words with minute and punctilious observation, and retouched every part with indefatigable diligence, till he had left nothing to be forgiven

10

For this reason he kept his pieces very long in his hands, while he considered and reconsidered them. The only poems which can be supposed to have been written with such regard to the times as might hasten their publication, were the two satires of *Thru ty-eight*, of which Dodsley told me that they were brought to him by the author, that they might be fairly copied "Almost every line," he said, "was then written twice over, I gave him a clean transcript, which he sent some time afterwards to me for the press, with almost every line written twice over a second time "

His declaration that his care for his works ceased at their publication was not strictly true. His parental attention never abandoned them, what he found amiss in the first edition, he silently corrected in those that followed. He appears to have revised the "Iliad," and freed it from some of its imperfections, and the "Essay on Criticism" received many improvements after its first appearance. It will seldom be found that he altered without adding clearness, elegance, or vigour. Pope had perhaps the judgment of Dryden, but Dryden certainly wanted the diligence of Pope

In acquired knowledge the superiority must be allowed to Dryden, whose education was more scholastic, and who before he became an author had been allowed more time for study, with better means of information. His mind has a larger range, and he collects his images and illustrations from a more extensive circumference of science. Dryden knew more of man in his general nature, and Pope in his local manners. The notions of Dryden were formed by comprehensive speculation, and those of Pope by minute attention. There is more dignity in the knowledge of Dryden, and more certainty in that of Pope

Poetry was not the sole praise of either, for both excelled likewise in prose; but Pope did not borrow his prose from his

40

predecessor The style of Dryden is capricious and varied, that of Pope is cautious and uniform ; Dryden observes the motions of his own mind, Pope constrains his mind to his own rules of composition Dryden is sometimes vehement and rapid , Pope is always smooth, uniform, and gentle Dryden's page is a natural field, rising into inequalities, and diversified by the varied exuberance of abundant vegetation , Pope's is a velvet lawn, shaven by the scythe and levelled by the roller

Of genius, that power which constitutes a poet , that quality
 10 without which judgment is cold and knowledge is inert ; that energy which collects, combines, amplifies, and animates , the superiority must, with some hesitation, be allowed to Dryden It is not to be inferred that of this poetical vigour Pope had only a little, because Dryden had more, for every other writer since Milton must give place to Pope , and even of Dryden it must be said that, if he has brighter paragraphs, he has not better poems Dryden's performances were always hasty, either excited by some external occasion, or extorted by domestic necessity, he composed without consideration, and published without correction What his mind could supply
 20 at call, or gather in one excursion, was all that he sought and all that he gave The dilatory caution of Pope enabled him to condense his sentiments, to multiply his images, and to accumulate all that study might produce, or chance might supply If the flights of Dryden therefore are higher, Pope continues longer on the wing If of Dryden's fire the blaze is brighter, of Pope's the heat is more regular and constant Dryden often surpasses expectation, and Pope never falls below it Dryden is read with frequent astonishment, and Pope with perpetual delight

This parallel will, I hope, when it is well considered, be found
 30 just , and if the reader should suspect me, as I suspect myself, of some partial fondness for the memory of Dryden, let him not too hastily condemn me , for meditation and inquiry may, perhaps, show him the reasonableness of my determination.

The Works of Pope are now to be distinctly examined, not so much with attention to slight faults or petty beauties, as to the general character and effect of each performance

It seems natural for a young poet to initiate himself by Pastorals, which, not professing to imitate real life, require no experience, and, exhibiting only the simple operation of unmingled passions,
 40 admit no subtle reasoning or deep inquiry Pope's "Pastorals" are not however composed but with close thought , they have reference

to the times of the day, the seasons of the year, and the periods of human life. The last, that which turns the attention upon age and death, was the author's favourite. To tell of disappointment and misery, to thicken the darkness of futurity, and perplex the labyrinth of uncertainty, has been always a delicious employment of the poets. His preference was probably just. I wish, however, that his fondness had not overlooked a line in which the *Zephyrs* are made to lament in silence.

To charge these Pastorals with want of invention is to require what was never intended. The imitations are so ambitiously frequent, that the writer evidently means rather to show his literature than his wit. It is surely sufficient for an author of sixteen not only to be able to copy the poems of antiquity with judicious selection, but to have obtained sufficient power of language, and skill in metre, to exhibit a series of versification, which had in English poetry no precedent, nor has since had an imitation. 10

The design of "Windsor Forest" is evidently derived from "Cooper's Hill," with some attention to Waller's poem on "The Park," but Pope cannot be denied to excel his masters in variety and elegance, and the art of interchanging description, narrative, 20 and morality. The objection made by Dennis is the want of plan, of a regular subordination of parts terminating in the principal and original design. There is this want in most descriptive poems, because as the scenes, which they must exhibit successively, are all subsisting at the same time, the order in which they are shown must by necessity be arbitrary, and more is not to be expected from the last part than from the first. The attention, therefore, which cannot be detained by suspense, must be excited by diversity, such as this poem offers to its reader.

But the desire of diversity may be too much indulged, the parts 30 of "Windsor Forest" which deserve least praise are those which were added to enliven the stillness of the scene, the appearance of Father Thames, and the transformation of Lodona. Addison had in his "Campaign" derided the *Rivers* that rise from their oozy beds to tell stories of heroes, and it is therefore strange that Pope should adopt a fiction not only unnatural but lately censured. The story of Lodona is told with sweetness; but a new metamorphosis is a ready and puerile expedient, nothing is easier than to tell how a flower was once a blooming virgin, or a rock an obdurate tyrant.

The "Temple of Fame" has, as Steele warmly declared, a thou- 40 sand beauties. Every part is splendid, there is great luxuriance of

ornaments, the original vision of Chaucer was never denied to be much improved, the allegory is very skilfully continued, the imagery is properly selected, and learnedly displayed yet, with all this comprehension of excellence, as its scene is laid in remote ages, and its sentiments, if the concluding paragraph be excepted, have little relation to general manners or common life, it never obtained much notice, but is turned silently over, and seldom quoted or mentioned with either praise or blame

That the "Messiah" excels the "Pollio" is no great praise, if it 10 be considered from what original the improvements are derived

The "Verses on the unfortunate Lady" have drawn much attention by the illaudable singularity of treating suicide with respect, and they must be allowed to be written in some parts with vigorous animation, and in others with gentle tenderness, nor has Pope produced any poem in which the sense predominates more over the diction. But the tale is not skilfully told, it is not easy to discover the character of either the Lady or her Guardian. History relates that she was about to disparage herself by a marriage with an inferior, Pope praises her for the dignity of ambition, and yet con- 20 demns the uncle to detestation for his pride, the ambitious love of a niece may be opposed by the interest, malice, or envy of an uncle, but never by his pride. On such an occasion a poet may be allowed to be obscure, but inconsistency never can be right

The "Ode for St Cecilia's Day" was undertaken at the desire of Steele in this the author is generally confessed to have miscarried, yet he has miscarried only as compared with Dryden, for he has far outgone other competitors. Dryden's plan is better chosen, history will always take stronger hold of the attention than fable the passions excited by Dryden are the pleasures and pains 30 of real life, the scene of Pope is laid in imaginary existence, Pope is read with calm acquiescence, Dryden with turbulent delight, Pope hangs upon the ear, and Dryden finds the passes of the mind

Both the odes want the essential constituent of metrical compositions, the stated recurrence of settled numbers. It may be alleged that Pindar is said by Horace to have written *numerus lege solutus* but as no such lax performances have been transmitted to us, the meaning of that expression cannot be fixed, and perhaps the like return might properly be made to a modern Pindarist, as Mr Cobb received from Bentley, who, when he found his criticisms 40 upon a Greek exercise, which Cobb had presented, refuted one after

another by Pindar's authority, cried out at last, *Pindar was a bold fellow, but thou art an impudent one*

If Pope's ode be particularly inspected, it will be found that the first stanza consists of sounds well chosen indeed, but only sounds

The second consists of hyperbolical common-places, easily to be found, and perhaps without much difficulty to be as well expressed

In the third, however, there are numbers, images, harmony, and vigour, not unworthy the antagonist of Dryden Had all been like this—but every part cannot be the best

10

The next stanzas place and detain us in the dark and dismal regions of mythology, where neither hope nor fear, neither joy nor sorrow can be found the poet however faithfully attends us, we have all that can be performed by elegance of diction, or sweetness of versification, but what can form avail without better matter?

The last stanza recurs again to common-places The conclusion is too evidently modelled by that of Dryden, and it may be remarked that both end with the same fault, the comparison of each is literal on one side, and metaphorical on the other

20

Poets do not always express their own thoughts, Pope, with all this labour in the praise of Music, was ignorant of its principles, and insensible of its effects

One of his greatest, though of his earliest, works is the "Essay on Criticism," which, if he had written nothing else, would have placed him among the first critics and the first poets, as it exhibits every mode of excellence that can embellish or dignify didactic composition, selection of matter, novelty of arrangement, justness of precept, splendour of illustration, and propriety of digression I know not whether it be pleasing to consider that he produced this piece at twenty, and never afterwards excelled it he that delights himself with observing that such powers may be so soon attained, cannot but grieve to think that life was ever after at a stand

30

To mention the particular beauties of the Essay would be unprofitably tedious, but I cannot forbear to observe that the comparison of a student's progress in the sciences with the journey of a traveller in the Alps is perhaps the best that English poetry can show A simile, to be perfect, must both illustrate and ennoble the subject, must show it to the understanding in a clearer view, and display it to the fancy with greater dignity; but either of these

40

qualities may be sufficient to recommend it In didactic poetry, of which the great purpose is instruction, a simile may be praised which illustrates, though it does not ennoble, in heroics that may be admitted which ennobles, though it does not illustrate That it may be complete, it is required to exhibit, independently of its references, a pleasing image, for a simile is said to be a short episode To this antiquity was so attentive that circumstances were sometimes added, which, having no parallels, served only to fill the imagination, and produced what Perrault ludicrously called *comparisons with a long tail* In their similes the greatest writers have sometimes failed, the shiprace, compared with the chariot-race, is neither illustrated nor aggrandised, land and water make all the difference when Apollo, running after Daphne, is likened to a greyhound chasing a hare, there is nothing gained, the ideas of pursuit and flight are too plain to be made plainer, and a god and the daughter of a god are not represented much to their advantage by a hare and dog The simile of the Alps has no useless parts, yet affords a striking picture by itself, it makes the foregoing position better understood, and enables it to take faster hold on the attention, 20 it assists the apprehension, and elevates the fancy

Let me likewise dwell a little on the celebrated paragraph, in which it is directed that *the sound should seem an echo to the sense*, a precept which Pope is allowed to have observed beyond any other English poet

This notion of representative metre, and the desire of discovering frequent adaptations of the sound to the sense, have produced, in my opinion, many wild conceits and imaginary beauties All that can furnish this representation are the sounds of the words considered singly, and the time in which they are pronounced Every 30 language has some words framed to exhibit the noises which they express, as *thump, rattle, growl, hiss* These however are but few, and the poet cannot make them more, nor can they be of any use but when sound is to be mentioned The time of pronunciation was in the dactylic measures of the learned languages capable of considerable variety, but that variety could be accommodated only to motion or duration, and different degrees of motion were perhaps expressed by verses rapid or slow, without much attention of the writer, when the image had full possession of his fancy, but our language having little flexibility, our verses can differ very little in 40 their cadence The fancied resemblances, I fear, arise sometimes merely from the ambiguity of words, there is supposed to be some

relation between a *soft* line and a *soft* couch, or between *hard* syllables and *hard* fortune

Motion, however, may be in some sort exemplified, and yet it may be suspected that even in such resemblances the mind often governs the ear, and the sounds are estimated by their meaning. One of the most successful attempts has been to describe the labour of Sisyphus

" With many a weary step, and many a groan,
Up a high hill he heaves a huge round stone,
The huge round stone, resulting with a bound,
Thunders impetuous down, and smokes along the ground " 10

Who does not perceive the stone to move slowly upward, and roll violently back? But set the same numbers to another sense

" While many a merry tale, and many a song,
Cheer'd the rough road, we wish'd the rough road long
The rough road then, returning in a round,
Mock'd our impatient steps, for all was fairy ground "

We have now surely lost much of the delay, and much of the rapidity

But to show how little the greatest master of numbers can fix the principles of representative harmony, it will be sufficient to remark that the poet, who tells us, that 20

" When Ajax strives—the words move slow
Not so when swift Camilla scours the plain,
Flies o'er th' unbending corn, and skims along the main,"

when he had enjoyed for about thirty years the praise of Camilla's lightness of foot, he tried another experiment upon *sound* and *time*, and produced this memorable triplet

" Waller was smooth, but Dryden taught to join
The varying verse, the full resounding line,
The long majestic march, and energy divine " 30

Here are the swiftness of the rapid race, and the march of slow-paced majesty, exhibited by the same poet in the same sequence of syllables, except that the exact prosodist will find the line of *swiftness* by one time longer than that of *tardiness*

Beauties of this kind are commonly fancied, and when real, are technical and nugatory, not to be rejected, and not to be solicited

To the praises which have been accumulated on "The Rape of the Lock" by readers of every class, from the critic to the waiting-maid, it is difficult to make any addition. Of that which is universally 40

allowed to be the most attractive of all ludicrous compositions, let it rather be now inquired from what sources the power of pleasing is derived

Dr Warburton, who excelled in critical perspicacity, has remarked that the preternatural agents are very happily adapted to the purposes of the poem. The heathen deities can no longer gain attention: we should have turned away from a contest between Venus and Diana. The employment of allegorical persons always excites conviction of its own absurdity; they may produce effects,
 10 but cannot conduct actions, when the phantom is put in motion, it dissolves, thus Discord may raise a mutiny, but Discord cannot conduct a march, nor besiege a town. Pope brought into view a new race of beings, with powers and passions proportionate to their operation. The sylphs and gnomes act, at the toilet and the tea-table, what more terrific and more powerful phantoms perform on the stormy ocean, or the field of battle, they give their proper help, and do their proper mischief.

Pope is said, by an objector, not to have been the inventor of this petty nation, a charge which might with more justice have been
 20 brought against the author of the "Iliad," who doubtless adopted the religious system of his country, for what is there but the names of his agents which Pope has not invented? Has he not assigned them characters and operations never heard of before? Has he not, at least, given them their first poetical existence? If this is not sufficient to denominate his work original, nothing original ever can be written.

In this work are exhibited, in a very high degree, the two most engaging powers of an author. New things are made familiar, and familiar things are made new. A race of aerial people, never heard
 30 of before, is presented to us in a manner so clear and easy, that the reader seeks for no further information, but immediately mingles with his new acquaintance, adopts their interests, and attends their pursuits, loves a sylph, and detests a gnome.

That familiar things are made new, every paragraph will prove. The subject of the poem is an event below the common incidents of common life, nothing real is introduced that is not seen so often as to be no longer regarded, yet the whole detail of a female day is here brought before us, invested with so much art of decoration, that, though nothing is disguised, every thing is striking, and we
 40 feel all the appetite of curiosity for that from which we have a thousand times turned fastidiously away.

The purpose of the poet is, as he tells us, to laugh at *the little unguarded follies of the female sex*. It is therefore without justice that Dennis charges the "Rape of the Lock" with the want of a moral, and for that reason sets it below the "Lutrin," which exposes the pride and discord of the clergy. Perhaps neither Pope nor Boileau has made the world much better than he found it, but if they had both succeeded, it were easy to tell who would have deserved most from public gratitude. The freaks, and humours, and spleen, and vanity of women, as they embroil families in discord, and fill houses with disquiet, do more to obstruct the happiness of 10 life in a year than the ambition of the clergy in many centuries. It has been well observed that the misery of man proceeds not from any single crush of overwhelming evil, but from small vexations continually repeated.

It is remarked by Dennis likewise that the machinery is superfluous, that, by all the bustle of preternatural operation, the main event is neither hastened nor retarded. To this charge an efficacious answer is not easily made. The sylphs cannot be said to help or to oppose, and it must be allowed to imply some want of art, that their power has not been sufficiently intermingled with the action. 20 Other parts may likewise be charged with want of connection, the game at *ombre* might be spared, but if the lady had lost her hair while she was intent upon her cards, it might have been inferred that those who are too fond of play will be in danger of neglecting more important interests. Those perhaps are faults, but what are such faults to so much excellence!

The "Epistle of Eloise to Abelard" is one of the most happy productions of human wit: the subject is so judiciously chosen, that it would be difficult, in turning over the annals of the world, to find another which so many circumstances concur to recommend. We 30 regularly interest ourselves most in the fortune of those who most deserve our notice. Abelard and Eloise were conspicuous in their days for eminence of merit. The heart naturally loves truth. The adventures and misfortunes of this illustrious pair are known from undisputed history. Their fate does not leave the mind in hopeless dejection, for they both found quiet and consolation in retirement and piety. So new and so affecting is their story, that it supersedes invention, and imagination ranges at full liberty without straggling into scenes of fable.

The story, thus skilfully adopted, has been diligently improved. 40 Pope has left nothing behind him which seems more the effect of

studious perseverance and laborious revisal Here is particularly observable the *curiosa felicitas*, a fruitful soil, and careful cultivation Here is no crudeness of sense, nor asperity of language

The sources from which sentiments, which have so much vigour and efficacy, have been drawn, are shown to be the mystic writers by the learned author of the "Essay on the Life and Writings of Pope," a book which teaches how the brow of Criticism may be smoothed, and how she may be enabled, with all her severity, to attract and to delight

10 The train of my disquisition has now conducted me to that poetical wonder, the translation of the "Iliad," a performance which no age or nation can pretend to equal To the Greeks translation was almost unknown, it was totally unknown to the inhabitants of Greece They had no recourse to the barbarians for poetical beauties, but sought for every thing in Homer, where, indeed, there is but little which they might not find

The Italians have been very diligent translators, but I can hear of no version, unless perhaps An. Jullara's Ovid may be excepted, which is read with eagerness The "Iliad" of Salvini every reader
20 may discover to be punctiliously exact, but it seems to be the work of a linguist skilfully pedantic, and his countrymen, the proper judges of its power to please, reject it with disgust

Their predecessors the Romans have left some specimens of translations behind them, and that employment must have had some credit in which Tully and Germanicus engaged, but unless we suppose, what is perhaps true, that the plays of Terence were versions of Menander, nothing translated seems ever to have risen to high reputation The French, in the meridian hour of their learning, were very laudably industrious to enrich their own language with
30 the wisdom of the ancients, but found themselves reduced, by whatever necessity, to turn the Greek and Roman poetry into prose Whoever could read an author could translate him From such rivals little can be feared

The chief help of Pope in this arduous undertaking was drawn from the versions of Dryden Virgil had borrowed much of his imagery from Homer, and part of the debt was now paid by his translator Pope searched the pages of Dryden for happy combinations of heroic diction, but it will not be denied that he added much to what he found He cultivated our language with so much
40 diligence and art, that he has left in his Homer a treasure of poetical elegances to posterity His version may be said to have tuned

the English tongue, for since its appearance no writer, however deficient in other powers, has wanted melody. Such a series of lines so elaborately corrected, and so sweetly modulated, took possession of the public ear, the vulgar was enamoured of the poem, and the learned wondered at the translation.

But in the most general applause discordant voices will always be heard. It has been objected by some, who wish to be numbered among the sons of learning, that Pope's version of Homer is not Homeric, that it exhibits no resemblance of the original and characteristic manner of the Father of Poetry, as it wants his awful simplicity, his artless grandeur, his unaffected majesty. This cannot be totally denied, but it must be remembered that *necessitas quod cogit defendit*, that may be lawfully done which cannot be forborne. Time and place will always enforce regard. In estimating this translation consideration must be had of the nature of our language, the form of our metre, and, above all, of the change which two thousand years have made in the modes of life and the habits of thought. Virgil wrote in a language of the same general fabric with that of Homer, in verses of the same measure, and in an age nearer to Homer's time by eighteen hundred years, yet he found, even then, the state of the world so much altered, and the demand for elegance so much increased, that mere nature would be endured no longer and perhaps, in the multitude of borrowed passages, very few can be shown which he has not embellished.

There is a time when nations emerging from barbarity, and falling into regular subordination, gain leisure to grow wise and feel the shame of ignorance and the craving pain of unsatisfied curiosity. To this hunger of the mind plain sense is grateful, that which fills the void removes uneasiness, and to be free from pain for a while is pleasure; but repletion generates fastidiousness, a saturated intellect soon becomes luxurious, and knowledge finds no willing reception till it is recommended by artificial diction. Thus it will be found, in the progress of learning, that in all nations the first writers are simple, and that every age improves in elegance. One refinement always makes way for another, and what was expedient to Virgil was necessary to Pope.

I suppose many readers of the English "Iliad," when they have been touched with some unexpected beauty of the lighter kind, have tried to enjoy it in the original, where, alas! it was not to be found. Homer doubtless owes to his translator many Ovidian graces not exactly suitable to his character, but to have added can be no great

crime, if nothing be taken away Elegance is surely to be desired, if it be not gained at the expense of dignity A hero would wish to be loved, as well as to be revered

To a thousand cavils one answer is sufficient, the purpose of a writer is to be read, and the criticism which would destroy the power of pleasing must be blown aside Pope wrote for his own age and his own nation he knew that it was necessary to colour the images and point the sentiments of his author, he therefore made him graceful, but lost him some of his sublimity

- 10 The copious notes with which the version is accompanied, and by which it is recommended to many readers, though they were undoubtedly written to swell the volumes, ought not to pass without praise commentaries which attract the reader by the pleasure of perusal have not often appeared, the notes of others are read to clear difficulties, those of Pope to vary entertainment

- It has however been objected, with sufficient reason, that there is in the commentary too much of unseasonable levity and affected gaiety, that too many appeals are made to the ladies, and the ease which is so carefully preserved is sometimes the ease of a trifler
- 20 Every art has its terms, and every kind of instruction its proper style, the gravity of common critics may be tedious, but is less despicable than childish merriment

Of the "Odyssey" nothing remains to be observed the same general praise may be given to both translations, and a particular examination of either would require a large volume The notes were written by Broome, who endeavoured not unsuccessfully to imitate his master

- Of the "Dunciad" the hint is confessedly taken from Dryden's "MacFlecknoe," but the plan is so enlarged and diversified as justly
- 30 to claim the praise of an original, and affords the best specimen that has yet appeared of personal satire ludicrously pompous

That the design was moral, whatever the author might tell either his readers or himself, I am not convinced The first motive was the desire of revenging the contempt with which Theobald had treated his Shakespeare, and regaining the honour which he had lost, by crushing his opponent Theobald was not of bulk enough to fill a poem, and therefore it was necessary to find other enemies with other names, at whose expense he might divert the public

- In this design there was petulance and malignity enough but I
- 40 cannot think it very criminal An author places himself uncalled

before the tribunal of criticism, and solicits fame at the hazard of disgrace Dulness or deformity are not culpable in themselves, but may be very justly reproached when they pretend to the honour of wit or the influence of beauty If bad writers were to pass without reprehension, what should restrain them? *impune diem consumpserit ingens Telephus*, and upon bad writers only will censure have much effect The satire which brought Theobald and Moore into contempt, dropped impotent from Bentley, like the javelin of Priam

All truth is valuable, and satirical criticism may be considered as useful when it rectifies error and improves judgment, he that re- 10
fines the public taste is a public benefactor

The beauties of this poem are well known; its chief fault is the grossness of its images Pope and Swift had an unnatural delight in ideas physically impure, such as every other tongue utters with unwillingness, and of which every ear shrinks from the mention.

But even this fault, offensive as it is, may be forgiven for the excellence of other passages, such as the formation and dissolution of Moore, the account of the traveller, the misfortune of the florist, and the crowded thoughts and stately numbers which dignify the concluding paragraph 20

The alterations which have been made in the "Dunciad," not always for the better, require that it should be published, as in the present collection, with all its variations

The "Essay on Man" was a work of great labour and long consideration, but certainly not the happiest of Pope's performances The subject is perhaps not very proper for poetry, and the poet was not sufficiently master of his subject; metaphysical morality was to him a new study, he was proud of his acquisitions, and, supposing himself master of great secrets, was in haste to teach what he had not learned Thus he tells us, in the first Epistle, that from the 30
nature of the Supreme Being may be deduced an order of beings such as mankind, because Infinite Excellence can do only what is best He finds out that these beings must be *somewhere*, and that *all the question is whether man be in a wrong place* Surely if, according to the poet's Leibnitzian reasoning, we may infer that man ought to be, only because he is, we may allow that his place is the right place, because he has it Supreme Wisdom is not less infallible in disposing than in creating But what is meant by *somewhere*, and *place*, and *wrong place*, it had been vain to ask Pope, who probably had never asked himself 40

Having exalted himself into the chair of wisdom, he tells us much that every man knows, and much that he does not know himself, that we see but little, and that the order of the universe is beyond our comprehension—an opinion not very uncommon, and that there is a chain of subordinate beings *from infinite to nothing*, of which himself and his readers are equally ignorant. But he gives us one comfort, which, without his help, he supposes unattainable, in the position *that though we are fools, yet God is wise*.

This Essay affords an egregious instance of the predominance of
 10 genius, the dazzling splendour of imagery, and the seductive powers of eloquence. Never were penury of knowledge and vulgarity of sentiment so happily disguised. The reader fills his mind full, though he learns nothing, and when he meets it in its new array, no longer knows the talk of his mother and his nurse. When these wonder-working sounds sink into sense, and the doctrine of the Essay, disrobed of its ornaments, is left to the powers of its naked excellence, what shall we discover? That we are, in comparison with our Creator, very weak and ignorant, that we do not uphold the chain of existence, and that we could not make one another with
 20 more skill than we are made. We may learn yet more, that the arts of human life were copied from the instinctive operations of other animals, that if the world be made for man, it may be said that man was made for geese. To these profound principles of natural knowledge are added some moral instructions equally new, that self-interest, well understood, will produce social concord, that men are mutual gainers by mutual benefits, that evil is sometimes balanced by good, that human advantages are unstable and fallacious, of uncertain duration, and doubtful effect, that our true honour is, not to have a great part, but to act it well, that virtue only is
 30 our own, and that happiness is always in our power.

Surely a man of no very comprehensive search may venture to say that he has heard all this before, but it was never till now recommended by such a blaze of embellishment, or such sweetness of melody. The vigorous contraction of some thoughts, the luxuriant amplification of others, the incidental illustrations, and sometimes the dignity, sometimes the softness of the verses, enchain philosophy, suspend criticism, and oppress judgment by overpowering pleasure.

This is true of many paragraphs, yet if I had undertaken to ex-
 40 emplify Pope's felicity of composition before a rigid critic, I should not select the "Essay on Man," for it contains more lines unsuccessfully laboured, more harshness of diction, more thoughts

imperfectly expressed, more levity without elegance, and more heaviness without strength, than will easily be found in all his other works

The "Characters of Men and Women" are the product of diligent speculation upon human life, much labour has been bestowed upon them, and Pope very seldom laboured in vain. That his excellence may be properly estimated, I recommend a comparison of his "Characters of Women" with Boileau's satire, it will then be seen with how much more perspicacity female nature is investigated, and female excellence selected, and he surely is no mean writer to 10 whom Boileau shall be found inferior. The "Characters of Men," however, are written with more, if not with deeper, thought, and exhibit many passages exquisitely beautiful. The Gem and the Flower will not easily be equalled. In the women's part are some defects; the character of *Atossa* is not so neatly finished as that of *Clodio*, and some of the female characters may be found perhaps more frequently among men, what is said of *Philomede* was true of Prior

In the Epistles to Lord Bathurst and Lord Burlington Dr Warburton has endeavoured to find a train of thought which was never in the writer's head, and, to support his hypothesis, has printed that 20 first which was published last. In one the most valuable passage is perhaps the Elegy on Good Sense, and in the other the End of the Duke of Buckingham

The Epistle to Arbuthnot, now arbitrarily called the "Prologue to the Satires," is a performance consisting, as it seems, of many fragments wrought into one design, which by this union of scattered beauties contains more striking paragraphs than could probably have been brought together into an occasional work. As there is no stronger motive to exertion than self-defence, no part has more elegance, spirit, or dignity, than the poet's vindication of his own 30 character. The meanest passage is the satire upon *Sporus*.

Of the two poems which derived their names from the year, and which are called the "Epilogue to the Satires," it was very justly remarked by Savage that the second was in the whole more strongly conceived, and more equally supported, but that it had no single passages equal to the contention in the first for the dignity of Vice, and the celebration of the triumph of Corruption

The "Imitations of Horace" seem to have been written as relaxations of his genius. This employment became his favourite by its facility, the plan was ready to his hand, and nothing was 40 required but to accommodate as he could the sentiments of an old

author to recent facts or familiar images, but what is easy is seldom excellent, such imitations cannot give pleasure to common readers, the man of learning may be sometimes surprised and delighted by an unexpected parallel, but the comparison requires knowledge of the original, which will likewise often detect strained applications. Between Roman images and English manners there will be an irreconcilable dissimilitude, and the work will be generally uncouth and party-coloured, neither original nor translated, neither ancient nor modern

- 10 Pope had, in proportions very nicely adjusted to each other, all the qualities that constitute genius. He had *invention*, by which new trains of events are formed, and new scenes of imagery displayed, as in the "Rape of the Lock," and by which extrinsic and adventitious embellishments and illustrations are connected with a known subject, as in the "Essay on Criticism." He had *imagination*, which strongly impresses on the writer's mind, and enables him to convey to the reader, the various forms of nature, incidents of life, and energies of passion, as in his "Eloisa," "Windsor Forest," and the "Ethic Epistles." He had *judgment* which selects
 20 from life or nature what the present purpose requires, and, by separating the essence of things from its concomitants, often makes the representation more powerful than the reality, and he had colours of language always before him, ready to decorate his matter with every grace of elegant expression, as when he accommodates his diction to the wonderful multiplicity of Homer's sentiments and descriptions

- Poetical expression includes sound as well as meaning, *Music*, says Dryden, *is articulate poetry*, among the excellences of Pope, therefore, must be mentioned the melody of his metre. By perusing
 30 the works of Dryden he discovered the most perfect fabric of English verse, and habituated himself to that only which he found the best, in consequence of which restraint his poetry has been censured as too uniformly musical, and as glutting the ear with unvaried sweetness. I suspect this objection to be the cant of those who judge by principles rather than perception, and who would even themselves have less pleasure in his works, if he had tried to relieve attention by studied discords, or affected to break his lines and vary his pauses

- But though he was thus careful of his versification, he did not
 40 oppress his powers with superfluous rigour. He seems to have thought, with Boileau, that the practice of writing might be refined

till the difficulty should over-balance the advantage The construction of his language is not always strictly grammatical, with those rhymes which prescription had conjoined he contented himself, without regard to Swift's remonstrances, though there was no striking consonance, nor was he very careful to vary his terminations, or to refuse admission at a small distance to the same rhymes.

To Swift's edict for the exclusion of Alexandrines and triplets he paid little regard, he admitted them, but in the opinion of Fenton, too rarely, he uses them more liberally in his translation than his poems

10

He has a few double rhymes, and always, I think, unsuccessfully, except once in the "Rape of the Lock"

Expletives he very early ejected from his verses, but he now and then admits an epithet rather commodious than important Each of the six first lines of the "Iliad" might lose two syllables with very little diminution of the meaning, and sometimes, after all his art and labour, one verse seems to be made for the sake of another. In his latter productions the diction is sometimes vitiated by French idioms, with which Bolingbroke had perhaps infected him

I have been told that the couplet by which he declared his own ear to be most gratified was this

"Lo, where Mæotis sleeps, and hardly flows
The freezing Tanais through a waste of snows"

But the reason of this preference I cannot discover.

It is remarked by Watts that there is scarcely a happy combination of words, or a phrase poetically elegant in the English language, which Pope has not inserted into his version of Homer How he obtained possession of so many beauties of speech, it were desirable to know That he gleaned from authors, obscure as well as eminent, what he thought brilliant or useful, and preserved it all in a regular collection, is not unlikely When, in his last years, Hall's Satires were shown him, he wished that he had seen them sooner

30

New sentiments and new images others may produce, but to attempt any further improvement of versification will be dangerous Art and diligence have now done their best, and what shall be added will be the effort of tedious toil and needless curiosity

After all this it is surely superfluous to answer the question that has once been asked, Whether Pope was a poet, otherwise than by asking in return, If Pope be not poet where is poetry to be found?

To circumscribe poetry by a definition will only show the narrowness of the definer, though a definition which shall exclude Pope will not easily be made. Let us look round upon the present time, and back upon the past, let us inquire to whom the voice of mankind has decreed the wreath of poetry, let their productions be examined, and their claims stated, and the pretensions of Pope will be no more disputed. Had he given the world only his version, the name of poet must have been allowed him if the writer of the "Iliad" were to class his successors, he would assign a very high place to his
 10 translator, without requiring any other evidence of genius

The following letter, of which the original is in the hands of Lord Hardwicke, was communicated to me by the kindness of Mr Jodrell

"To Mr Bridges, at the Bishop of London's at Fulham

' SIR,

"The favour of your letter, with your remarks, can never be enough acknowledged, and the speed, with which you discharged so troublesome a task, doubles the obligation

"I must own, you have pleased me very much by the commendations so ill-bestowed upon me, but, I assure you, much more by the
 20 frankness of your censure, which I ought to take the more kindly of the two, as it is more advantageous to a scribbler to be improved in his judgment than to be soothed in his vanity. The greater part of those deviations from the Greek, which you have observed, I was led into by Chapman and Hobbes, who are (it seems) as much celebrated for their knowledge of the original, as they are decried for the badness of their translations. Chapman pretends to have restored the genuine sense of the author from the mistakes of all former explainers, in several hundred places and the Cambridge
 30 editors of the large Homer, in Greek and Latin, attributed so much to Hobbes, that they confess they have corrected the old Latin interpretation very often by his version. For my part, I generally took the author's meaning to be as you have explained it, yet their authority, joined to the knowledge of my own imperfectness in the language, over-ruled me. However, Sir, you may be confident I think you in the right, because you happen to be of my opinion. for men (let them say what they will) never approve any other's sense, but as it squares with their own. But you have made me much more proud of, and positive in, my judgment, since it is strengthened by yours. I think your criticisms, which regard the

expression, very just, and shall make my profit of them to give you some proof that I am in earnest, I will alter three verses on your bare objection, though I have Mr Dryden's example for each of them And this, I hope, you will account no small piece of obedience from one, who values the authority of one true poet above that of twenty critics or commentators But though I speak thus of commentators, I will continue to read carefully all I can procure, to make up, that way, for my own want of critical understanding in the original beauties of Homer Though the greatest of them are certainly those of the invention and design, which are 10 not at all confined to the language for the distinguishing excellences of Homer are (by the consent of the best critics of all nations) first in the manners (which include all the speeches, as being no other than the representations of each person's manners by his words), and then in that rapture and fire, which carries you away with him with that wonderful force, that no man who has a true poetical spirit is master of himself while he reads him Homer makes you interested and concerned before you are aware, all at once, whereas Virgil does it by soft degrees This, I believe, is what a translator of Homer ought principally to imitate, and it is 20 very hard for any translator to come up to it, because the chief reason why all translations fall short of their originals is that the very constraint they are obliged to renders them heavy and dispirited

"The great beauty of Homer's language, as I take it, consists in that noble simplicity, which runs through all his works, and yet his diction, contrary to what one would imagine consistent with simplicity, is at the same time very copious I don't know how I have run into this pedantry in a letter, but I find I have said too much, as well as spoken too inconsiderately; what farther thoughts I have 30 upon this subject, I shall be glad to communicate to you (for my own improvement) when we meet, which is a happiness I very earnestly desire, as I do likewise some opportunity of proving how much I think myself obliged to your friendship, and how truly I am, Sir,

"Your most faithful, humble servant,

"A POPE"

The criticism upon Pope's Epitaphs, which was printed in "The Visitor," is placed here, being too minute and particular to be inserted in the Life

Every art is best taught by example Nothing contributes more to the cultivation of propriety than remarks on the works of those who have most excelled I shall therefore endeavour, at this *visi*, to entertain the young students in poetry with an examination of Pope's Epitaphs

To define an epitaph is useless, every one knows that it is an
 10 inscription on a tomb An epitaph, therefore, implies no particular character of writing, but may be composed in verse or prose It is indeed commonly panegyrical, because we are seldom distinguished with a stone but by our friends, but it has no rule to restrain or mollify it, except this, that it ought not to be longer than common beholders may be expected to have leisure and patience to peruse

I

*On CHARLES Earl of DORSET, in the Church of Wythyham
 in Sussex*

20 "Dorset, the grace of courts, the Muse's pride,
 Patron of arts, and judge of nature, dy'd
 The scourge of pride, though sanctify'd or great,
 Of fops in learning, and of knaves in state,
 Yet soft in nature, though severe his lay,
 His anger moral, and his wisdom gay
 Blest satyrst! who touch'd the mean so true,
 As show'd, Vice had his hate and pity too
 Blest courtier! who could king and country please,
 Yet sacred kept his friendships, and his ease
 30 Blest peer! his great forefathers' every grace
 Reflecting, and reflected on his race,
 Where other Buckhursts, other Dorsets shine,
 And patriots still, or poets, deck the line "

The first distich of this epitaph contains a kind of information which few would want, that the man, for whom the tomb was erected, died There are indeed some qualities worthy of praise ascribed to the dead, but none that were likely to exempt him from the lot of man, or incline us much to wonder that he should die What is meant by *judge of nature*, is not easy to say Nature is not the object of human judgment, for it is vain to judge where we cannot
 40 alter. If by nature is meant, what is commonly called nature by the critics, a just representation of things really existing, and actions really performed, nature cannot be properly opposed to art, nature being, in this sense, only the best effect of art

The scourge of pride—

Of this couplet, the second line is not, what is intended, an illustration of the former *Pride*, in the *great*, is indeed well enough connected with knaves in state, though *knaves* is a word rather too ludicrous and light, but the mention of *sanctified* pride will not lead the thoughts to *fops in learning*, but rather to some species of tyranny or oppression, something more gloomy and more formidable than foppery.

Yet soft his nature—

This is a high compliment, but was not first bestowed on Dorset 10 by Pope The next verse is extremely beautiful

Blest satyrists!—

In this distich is another line of which Pope was not the author I do not mean to blame these imitations with much harshness, in long performances they are scarcely to be avoided, and in shorter they may be indulged, because the train of the composition may naturally involve them, or the scantiness of the subject allow little choice However, what is borrowed is not to be enjoyed as our own, and it is the business of critical justice to give every bird of the Muses his proper feather

20

Blest courtiers!—

Whether a courtier can properly be commended for keeping his *ease sacred*, may perhaps be disputable To please king and country, without sacrificing friendship to any change of times, was a very uncommon instance of prudence or felicity, and deserved to be kept separate from so poor a commendation as care of his ease I wish our poets would attend a little more accurately to the use of the word *sacred*, which surely should never be applied in a serious composition, but where some reference may be made to a higher Being, or where some duty is exacted or implied A man may keep 30 his friendship *sacred*, because promises of friendship are very awful ties, but methinks he cannot, but in a burlesque sense, be said to keep his ease *sacred*

Blest peers!—

The blessings ascribed to the *peer* have no connection with his peerage. they might happen to any other man, whose ancestors were remembered, or whose posterity were likely to be regarded

I know not whether this epitaph be worthy either of the writer or of the man entombed

II

On Sir WILLIAM TRUMBAL, one of the principal Secretaries of State to King WILLIAM III, who, having resigned his place, died in his retirement at Easthamsted in Berkshire, 1716

“ A pleasing form, a firm, yet cautious mind,
Sincere, though prudent, constant, yet resign'd
Honour unchang'd, a principle profest,
Fix'd to one side, but moderate to the rest
An honest courtier, yet a patriot too,
Just to his prince, and to his country true
Fill'd with the sense of age, the fire of youth,
A scorn of wrangling, yet a zeal for truth,
A generous faith, from superstition free,
A love to peace, and hate of tyranny,
Such this man was, who now, from earth remov'd,
At length enjoys that liberty he lov'd ”

10

20

In this epitaph, as in many others, there appears, at the first view, a fault which I think scarcely any beauty can compensate. The name is omitted. The end of an epitaph is to convey some account of the dead, and to what purpose is any thing told of him whose name is concealed? An epitaph, and a history, of a nameless hero, are equally absurd, since the virtues and qualities so recounted in either, are scattered at the mercy of fortune to be appropriated by guess. The name, it is true, may be read upon the stone, but what obligation has it to the poet, whose verses wander over the earth, and leave their subject behind them, and who is forced, like an unskilful painter, to make his purpose known by adventitious help?

30

This epitaph is wholly without elevation, and contains nothing striking or particular, but the poet is not to be blamed for the defects of his subject. He said perhaps the best that could be said. There are, however, some defects which were not made necessary by the character in which he was employed. There is no opposition between an *honest courtier* and a *patriot*, for an *honest courtier* cannot but be a *patriot*.

40

It was unsuitable to the nicety required in short compositions, to close his verse with the word *too* every rhyme should be a word of emphasis, nor can this rule be safely neglected, except where the length of the poem makes slight inaccuracies excusable, or allows room for beauties sufficient to overpower the effects of petty faults.

At the beginning of the seventh line the word *filled* is weak and prosaic, having no particular adaptation to any of the words that follow it.

The thought in the last line is impertinent, having no connection with the foregoing character, nor with the condition of the man described. Had the epitaph been written on the poor conspirator who died lately in prison, after a confinement of more than forty years, without any crime proved against him, the sentiment had been just and pathetic; but why should Trumbal be congratulated upon his liberty, who had never known restraint?

III.

On the Hon SIMON HARCOURT, only Son of the Lord Chancellor HARCOURT, at the Church of Stanton-Harcourt in Oxfordshire, 10 1720

"To this sad shrine, whoe'er thou art, draw near,
Here lies the friend most lov'd, the son most dear
Who ne'er knew joy, but friendship might divide,
Or gave his father grief but when he dy'd
How vain is reason! eloquence how weak!
If Pope must tell what Harcourt cannot speak
Oh, let thy once-lov'd friend inscribe thy stone,
And with a father's sorrow mix his own."

This epitaph is principally remarkable for the artful introduction 20 of the name, which is inserted with a peculiar felicity, to which chance must concur with genius, which no man can hope to attain twice, and which cannot be copied but with servile imitation.

I cannot but wish that, of this inscription, the two last lines had been omitted, as they take away from the energy what they do not add to the sense.

IV.

On JAMES CRAGGS, Esq ;

in Westminster Abbey

JACOBVS CRAGGS,

30

REGI MAGNAE BRITANNIAE A SECRETIS
ET CONSILIIS SANCTIORIBVS

PRINCIPIS PARITER AC POPVLI AMOR ET

DELICIAE .

VIXIT TITVLIS ET INVIDIA MAJOR,

ANNOS HEV PAVCOS, XXXV.

OB FEB XVI MDCCXX

"Statesman, yet friend to truth! of soul sincere,
 In action faithful, and in honour clear!
 Who broke no promise, serv'd no private end,
 Who gain'd no title, and who lost no friend!
 Ennobled by himself, by all approv'd,
 Prais'd, wept, and honour'd by the Muse he lov'd "

The lines on Craggs were not originally intended for an epitaph; and therefore some faults are to be imputed to the violence with which they are torn from the poem that first contained them We
 10 may, however, observe some defects There is a redundancy of words in the first couplet it is superfluous to tell of him, who was *sincere, true, and faithful*, that he was *in honour clear*

There seems to be an opposition intended in the fourth line, which is not very obvious where is the relation between the two positions, that he *gained no title* and *lost no friend*?

It may be proper here to remark the absurdity of joining, in the same inscription, Latin and English, or verse and prose If either language be preferable to the other, let that only be used, for no reason can be given why part of the information should be given in
 20 one tongue, and part in another, on a tomb, more than in any other place, or any other occasion, and to tell all that can be conveniently told in verse, and then to call in the help of prose, has always the appearance of a very artless expedient, or of an attempt unaccomplished. Such an epitaph resembles the conversation of a foreigner, who tells part of his meaning by words, and conveys part by signs

V

*Intended for Mr ROWE
 In Westminster Abbey*

30 "Thy reliques, Rowe, to this fair urn we trust,
 And sacred, place by Dryden's awful dust
 Beneath a rude and nameless stone he lies,
 To which thy tomb shall guide inquiring eyes
 Peace to thy gentle shade, and endless rest!
 Blest in thy genius, in thy love too blest!
 One grateful woman to thy fame supplies
 What a whole thankless land to his denies "

Of this inscription the chief fault is that it belongs less to Rowe, for whom it was written, than to Dryden, who was buried near him; and indeed gives very little information concerning either.

40 To wish, *Peace to thy shade*, is too mythological to be admitted into a Christian temple; the ancient worship has infected almost

all our other compositions, and might therefore be contented to spare our epitaphs Let fiction, at least, cease with life, and let us be serious over the grave.

VI

*On Mrs CORBET,
who died of a Cancer in her Breast.*

" Here rests a woman, good without pretence,
Blest with plain reason, and with sober sense,
No conquest she, but o'er herself, desir'd ,
No arts essay'd, but not to be admir'd
Passion and pride were to her soul unknown,
Convinc'd that Virtue only is our own
So unaffected, so compos'd a mind,
So firm, yet soft, so strong, yet so refin'd,
Heaven, as its purest gold, by tortures try'd,
The saint sustain'd it, but the woman dy'd "

10

I have always considered this as the most valuable of all Pope's epitaphs , the subject of it is a character not discriminated by any shining or eminent peculiarities , yet that which really makes, though not the splendour, the felicity of life, and that which every 20 wise man will choose for his final and lasting companion in the langour of age, in the quiet of privacy, when he departs weary and disgusted from the ostentatious, the volatile, and the vain Of such a character, which the dull overlook, and the gay despise, it was fit that the value should be made known, and the dignity established Domestic virtue, as it is exerted without great occasions, or conspicuous consequences, in an even unnoted tenor, required the genius of Pope to display it in such a manner as might attract regard, and enforce reverence Who can forbear to lament that this amiable woman has no name in the verses ?

30

If the particular lines of this inscription be examined, it will appear less faulty than the rest There is scarce one line taken from commonplaces, unless'it be that in which *only Virtue* is said to be *our own* I once heard a lady of great beauty and excellence object to the fourth line, that it contained an unnatural and incredible panegyric Of this let the ladies judge

VII

*On the monument of the Hon ROBERT DIGBY, and of his sister MARY,
erected by their Father the Lord DIGBY, in the Church of Sherborne
in Dorsetshire, 1727*

40

"Go! fair example of untainted youth,
 Of modest wisdom, and pacific truth
 Compos'd in sufferings, and in joy sedate,
 Good without noise, without pretension great
 Just of thy word, in every thought sincere,
 Who knew no wish but what the world might hear
 Of softest manners, unaffected mind,
 Lover of peace, and friend of human kind
 Go, live! for Heaven's eternal year is thine,
 Go, and exalt thy mortal to divine

10

And thou, blest maid! attendant on his doom,
 Pensive hast follow'd to the silent tomb,
 Steer'd the same course to the same quiet shore,
 Not parted long, and now to part no more!
 Go, then, where only bliss sincere is known!
 Go, where to love and to enjoy are one!

Yet take these tears, Mortality's relief,
 And till we share your joys, forgive our grief
 These little rites, a stone, a verse receive,
 'Tis all a father, all a friend can give!"

20

This epitaph contains of the brother only a general indiscriminate character, and of the sister tells nothing but that she died. The difficulty in writing epitaphs is to give a particular and appropriate praise. This, however, is not always to be performed, whatever be the diligence or ability of the writer, for the greater part of mankind *have no character at all*, have little that distinguishes them from others equally good or bad, and therefore nothing can be said of them which may not be applied with equal propriety to a thousand more. It is indeed no great panegyric that there is inclosed in this

30 tomb one who was born in one year, and died in another, yet many useful and amiable lives have been spent, which yet leave little materials for any other memorial. These are however not the proper subjects of poetry, and whenever friendship, or any other motive, obliges a poet to write on such subjects, he must be forgiven if he sometimes wanders in generalities, and utters the same praises over different tombs.

The scantiness of human praises can scarcely be made more apparent than by remarking how often Pope has, in the few epitaphs which he composed, found it necessary to borrow from himself. The

40 fourteen epitaphs which he has written comprise about an hundred and forty lines, in which there are more repetitions than will easily be found in all the rest of his works. In the eight lines which make the character of Digby there is scarce any thought, or word, which may not be found in the other epitaphs.

The ninth line, which is far the strongest and most elegant, is borrowed from Dryden. The conclusion is the same with that on Harcourt, but is here more elegant and better connected.

VIII.

*On Sir GODFREY KNELLER
In Westminster-Abbey, 1723*

"Kneller, by Heaven, and not a master taught,
Whose art was nature, and whose pictures thought,
Now for two ages, having snatch'd from fate
Whate'er was beauteous, or whate'er was great,
Lies crown'd with Princes' honours, Poets' lays,
Due to his merit, and brave thirst of praise
Living, great Nature fear'd he might outvie
Her works; and dying, fears herself may die "

10

Of this epitaph the first couplet is good, the second not bad, the third is deformed with a broken metaphor, the word *crowned* not being applicable to the *honours* or the *lays*, and the fourth is not only borrowed from the epitaph on Raphael, but of a very harsh construction

IX.

*On General HENRY WITHERS
In Westminster-Abbey, 1729*

"Here, Withers, rest! thou bravest, gentlest mind!
Thy country's friend, but more of human kind
O! born to arms! O! worth in youth approv'd!
O! soft humanity in age belov'd!
For thee the hardy veteran drops a tear,
And the gay courtier feels the sigh sincere

20

Withers, adieu! yet not with thee remove
Thy martial spirit, or thy social love!
Amidst corruption, luxury, and rage,
Still leave some ancient virtues to our age -
Nor let us say (those English glories gone)
The last true Briton lies beneath this stone "

30

The epitaph on Withers affords another instance of common-places, though somewhat diversified by mingled qualities, and the peculiarity of a profession

The second couplet is abrupt, general, and displeasing; exclamation seldom succeeds in our language; and, I think, it may be observed that the particle O! used at the beginning of a sentence, always offends

The third couplet is more happy, the value expressed for him by different sorts of men raises him to esteem, there is yet something of the common cant of superficial satirists, who suppose that the insincerity of a courtier destroys all his sensations, and that he is equally a dissembler to the living and the dead

At the third couplet I should wish the epitaph to close, but that I should be unwilling to lose the next two lines, which yet are dearly bought if they cannot be retained without the four that follow them

X

On Mr. ELIJAH FENTON

At Easthamsted in Berkshure, 1730

10 " This modest stone, what few vain marbles can,
 May truly say, Here lies an honest man
 A poet, blest beyond the poet's fate,
 Whom Heaven kept sacred from the Proud and Great
 Foe to loud praise, and friend to learned ease,
 Content with science in the vale of peace
 Calmly he look'd on either life, and here
 Saw nothing to regret, or there to fear,
 From nature's temperate feast rose satisfy'd,
 20 Thank'd heaven that he had liv'd, and that he dy'd "

The first couplet of this epitaph is borrowed from Crashaw. The four next lines contain a species of praise peculiar, original, and just. Here, therefore, the inscription should have ended, the latter part containing nothing but what is common to every man who is wise and good. The character of Fenton was so amiable, that I cannot forbear to wish for some poet or biographer to display it more fully for the advantage of posterity. If he did not stand in the first rank of genius, he may claim a place in the second, and, whatever criticism may object to his writings, censure could find
 30 very little to blame in his life

XI

On Mr GAY

In Westminster-Abbey, 1732.

 " Of manners gentle, of affections mild,
 In wit, a man, simplicity, a child
 With native humour tempering virtuous rage,
 Form'd to delight at once and lash the age
 Above temptation in a low estate,
 And uncorrupted ev'n among the Great
 A safe companion and an easy friend,
 40 Unblam'd through life, lamented in thy end,

These are thy honours! not that here thy bust
Is mix'd with heroes, or with kings thy dust,
But that the worthy and the good shall say,
Striking their pensive bosoms—Here lies GAY

As Gay was the favourite of our author, this epitaph was probably written with an uncommon degree of attention, yet it is not more successfully executed than the rest, for it will not always happen that the success of a poet is proportionate to his labour. The same observation may be extended to all works of imagination, which are often influenced by causes wholly out of the performer's power, 10 by hints of which he perceives not the origin, by sudden elevations of mind which he cannot produce in himself, and which sometimes rise when he expects them least

The two parts of the first line are only echoes of each other; *gentle manners* and *mild affections*, if they mean any thing, must mean the same

That Gay was a *man in wit* is a very frigid commendation, to have the wit of a man is not much for a poet. The *wit of man*, and the *simplicity of a child*, make a poor and vulgar contrast, and raise no ideas of excellence, either intellectual or moral 20

In the next couplet *rage* is less properly introduced after the mention of *mildness* and *gentleness*, which are made the constituents of his character, for a man so *mild* and *gentle* to *temper* his *rage* was not difficult

The next line is inharmonious in its sound, and mean in its conception, the opposition is obvious, and the word *lash* used absolutely, and without any modification, is gross and improper.

To be *above temptation* in poverty, and *free from corruption among the great*, is indeed such a peculiarity as deserved notice. But to be a *safe companion* is praise merely negative, arising not from the 30 possession of virtue, but the absence of vice, and that one of the most odious

As little can be added to his character by asserting that he was *lamented in his end*. Every man that dies is, at least by the writer of his epitaph, supposed to be lamented, and therefore this general lamentation does no honour to Gay

The first eight lines have no grammar; the adjectives are without any substantive, and the epithets without a subject

The thought in the last line, that Gay is buried in the bosoms of the *worthy* and the *good*, who are distinguished only to lengthen the line, is so dark that few understand it, and so harsh, when it is explained, that still fewer approve

XII

Intended for Sir ISAAC NEWTON

In Westminster-Abbey

ISAACUS NEWTONIUS

Quem Immortalem

Testantur Tempus, Natura, Cælum ,

Mortalem

Hoc marmor fatetur

" Nature, and Nature's laws, lay hid in night,
God said, *Let Newton be* ! And all was light "

Of this epitaph, short as it is, the faults seem not to be very few. Why part should be Latin and part English, it is not easy to discover. In the Latin, the opposition of *Immortalis* and *Mortalis* is a mere sound, or a mere quibble, he is not *immortal* in any sense contrary to that in which he is *mortal*

In the verses the thought is obvious, and the words *night* and *light* are too nearly allied

XIII

*On EDMUND Duke of BUCKINGHAM, who died in the 19th Year
of his Age, 1735*

" If modest youth, with cool reflection crown'd,
And every opening virtue blooming round,
Could save a parent's justest pride from fate,
Or add one patriot to a sinking state,
This weeping marble had not ask'd thy tear,
Or sadly told, how many hopes he here !
The living virtue now had shone approv'd,
The senate heard him, and his country lov'd
Yet softer honours, and less noisy fame
Attend the shade of gentle Buckingham ,
In whom a race, for courage fam'd and art,
Ends in the milder merit of the heart ,
And, chiefs or sages long to Britain given,
Pays the last tribute of a saint to heaven "

This epitaph Mr. Warburton prefers to the rest, but I know not for what reason To *crown* with *reflection* is surely a mode of speech approaching to nonsense *Opening virtues blooming round* is something like tautology, the six following lines are poor and prosaic *Art* is in another couplet used for *arts*, that a rhyme may be had to *heart* The six last lines are the best, but not excellent

The rest of his sepulchral performances hardly deserve the notice of criticism The contemptible Dialogue between HE and SHE should have been suppressed for the author's sake.

In his last epitaph on himself, in which he attempts to be jocular 10 upon one of the few things that make wise men serious, he confounds the living man with the dead.

" Under this stone, or under this sill,
Or under this turf, &c "

When a man is once buried, the question, under what he is buried, is easily decided He forgot that though he wrote the epitaph in a state of uncertainty, yet it could not be laid over him till his grave was made Such is the folly of wit when it is ill employed

The world has but little new, even this wretchedness seems to have been borrowed from the following tuneless lines 20

" Ludovici Arcosti humantur ossa
Sub hoc marmore, vel sub hac humo, seu
Sub quicquid voluit benignus hæres
Sive hærede benignior comes, seu
Opportunius incidens Viator,
Nam scire haud potuit futura, sed nec
Tanti erat vacuum sibi cadaver
Ut urnam cuperet parare vivens,
Vivens ista tamen sibi paravit,
Quæ inscribi voluit suo sepulchro,
Olim siquod haberet is sepulchrum

30

Surely Ariosto did not venture to expect that his trifle would have ever had such an illustrious imitator

NOTES.

Page 1. May 22nd. Really, May 21 (Spence, 259).

2. We are informed, in Pope's *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, 388 (Globe edition, page 283):—

“Of gentle blood (part shed in Honour's cause,
While yet in Britain Honour had applause)
Each parent sprung.”

It appears to be certain that Pope's father made enough money by the linen-trade to enable him to retire comparatively early from business, and that he was a devout Roman Catholic. Pope himself, in a note to line 381 of the above poem, asserts that his father was of a gentleman's family in Oxfordshire, the head of which was Lord Downe; but no confirmation of this statement has ever been found, and a cousin of Pope's asserted that his grandfather was a clergyman of the Church of England in Hampshire, who placed his son, Pope's father, with a merchant at Lisbon, where he became a convert to Popery (Courthope, v., 4).

4. His mother, &c. All this comes from the note to verse 381 of the *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, and appears to be correct. Pope's father died in 1717, aged 75. Edith Turner, who was his second wife, in 1733, aged 93.

9. Sequestrations, the seizure of property, rents, &c., by the government, especially from an enemy in time of war. The victorious Parliament treated many of the Royalist families in this way.

11. What his father was not. Compare the *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, 392-403,—

“Born to no pride, inheriting no strife,
Nor marrying discord in a noble wife,
Stranger to civil and religious rage,
The good man walked innoxious through his age.
Nor courts he saw, no suits would ever try,
Nor dared an oath, nor hazarded a lie.
Unlearned, he knew no schoolman's subtle art,
No language but the language of the heart.
By nature honest, by experience wise,
Healthy by temperance and by exercise,
His life, though long, to sickness past unknown,
His death was instant, and without a groan.”

Most of this description, it will be noticed, is expressed in a negative form, and in the note already quoted Pope simply *denies* that his father was a mechanic, a hatter, a farmer, or a bankrupt.

12. Allowed, admitted.

13. On the Exchange, where merchants and brokers meet to transact business.

Mr. Tyers, Thomas Tyers (1726-1787), a friend of Johnson, of whom Boswell records that “he was bred to the law, but having a handsome fortune, vivacity of temper, and eccentricity of mind, he could not confine

himself to the regularity of practice. He therefore ran about the world with a pleasant carelessness, amusing everybody by his desultory conversation. He abounded in anecdote, but was not sufficiently attentive to accuracy."

14. Mrs Racket Magdalen Racket, the wife of one Charles Racket, was half-sister to Pope, being the daughter of his father by his first wife.

The Strand, an important street in London. But Pope's father seems to have had his place of business in Broad Street, and afterwards in Lombard Street, where the poet was born

21 Nightingale, a bird famous for the sweetness of its song.

26 Hand, handwriting. Cunningham, however, denies the truth of this statement, and so does Courthope (v, 7), who says that in all the fair copies of Pope's MSS that he has seen the character of the letters is fine, clear, and scholarly

28 Taverner So says Ruffhead but Spence calls him Banister—"Mr. Pope began to learn Latin and Greek together (as is customary in the schools of the Jesuits, and which he seemed to think a good way), under Banister, their family priest He taught him the figures, accident, and first part of grammar" (Spence 259, 283) As Mr Ryland remarks, Roman Catholic priests frequently went by more than one name during periods of persecution in England.

29 Rudiments, elements, first principles

Page 2 1. Ogilby's Homer John Ogilby (1600-1676) was a Scotchman, who first earned distinction as a dancing-master and theatrical manager. In 1649 he published a translation of Virgil into English verse he then studied Greek, and produced a translation of *Iliad* in 1660, and one of the *Odyssey* in 1665 During the later portion of his life he devoted himself chiefly to publishing books of geography and travel, copiously illustrated with maps The merits of his works have become obscured, partly through Dryden's sneer in *Mac-Flecknoe*, 102, and Pope's two references in the *Dunciad*, 1, 141, 328. In the Preface to his *Iliad*, also, Pope speaks of Ogilby's poetry as being "too mean for criticism" But Spence tells us (page 276) that "Ogilby's Homer was one of the first large poems that ever Mr. Pope read, and he still spoke of the pleasure it then gave him, with a sort of rapture, only in reflecting on it I was then, he said, about eight years old, and this led me to Sandys' Ovid, which I liked extremely"

2 Sandys's Ovid George Sandys (1577-1644) published a translation of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid in 1626 In the preface to his *Fables* (1700) Dryden speaks of "the ingenious and learned Sandys, the best versifier of the former age," though in Tonson's Third Miscellany (1693) he had accused "the so-much-admired Sandys" of leaving Ovid prose where he found him verse

9 Hyde-park Corner, in London

10 Playhouse, theatre.

14. Personated, represented, played the part of

Ajax There were two Greek heroes of this name engaged in the mythical siege of Troy

15 At the two, &c. The real order is—"He used to represent himself (subsequently) as having lost at the two schools last-mentioned part of what," &c.

17. Lampoon, satire now usually reserved for one of a particularly scurrilous character. The word is the French *lampon*, properly, a drinking-song, from *lampons*, let us drink Spence (259) mentions this "satire on some faults of his master."

18. The *Metamorphoses*, a long poem by the Roman Poet Ovid, describing various legendary transformation of men and women into beasts, birds, plants, and rivers.

21. He tells, in the *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, 128.—

"As yet a child, nor yet a fool to fame,
I lisped in numbers, for the numbers came,"

a statement modelled on what Ovid tells us of himself (*Tristia*, iv, 10. 25-6) To lisp is to speak imperfectly like a child learning to talk. *Numbers*, verses, poetry

22. Used to say, &c. "I began writing verses of my own invention farther back than I can well remember" (Spence, 276).

23 In the style of fiction, if we wished to speak of him in my theological style.

24. Pindar, the greatest of the Greek lyric poets (about 522-443 B C). A number of his odes in honour of the victors at the Olympic and other public games have been preserved.

The bees, &c., a sign of the sweet and honeyed words that were to issue from those lips The same tale was also told of Plato the philosopher, and Sophocles the tragic poet, as well as of more than one Christian saint

26 The Revolution of 1688, by which James II. was deposed in favour of William of Orange We do not know when it was that Pope's father retired to Binfield, but Johnson's account is as probable as any.

27 Blast, blasting, &c., a sudden destruction such as that wrought by a noxious wind on plants.

28. Binfield, a village nine miles from Windsor, and twelve from Moor Park, the home of Sir William Temple and of Swift for so many years.

30. He found, &c. This story Cunningham calls "a great absurdity" The elder Pope invested a considerable sum in a French annuity on his son's life, at 10 per cent, though the value of these annuities was reduced by a decree of the French Government in 1713 (see Pope's letter to Caryll, January 9, 1714 Elwin, vi, 201). The fact is that so many restrictions were placed on Roman Catholics in those days, that it was very difficult for them to find any satisfactory means of investing their money in England.

36 Deane, Thomas Deane (1651-1735), son of a Kentish gentleman. He was made a Fellow of University College, Oxford, in 1684, but lost his fellowship on becoming a Roman Catholic In December, 1691, he was placed in the pillory at Charing Cross, in London, for concealing the author of a libellous pamphlet It was Deane who presided over the

Hyde Park Corner school, where Pope learnt "a little of Tully's Offices," the priest who taught him at Binfield is unnamed (Courthope, v, 9)

37. Tully's Offices, a treatise *De Officiis*, "On moral Duties," by Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B C), the Roman orator, who was usually referred to in the last century as "Tully"

39. Vain to enquire Yet a philosophical work like the *De officiis* is in many parts much more difficult for a boy than Ovid's poetry.

Page 3 7 Proposing subjects, &c This is stated by Spence (page 8) on the authority of Pope's mother

11 The versification of Dryden From this Pope learnt how to express the conversational idioms of his language in a metrical form, but Courthope (v, 20, *seq*) shows that his conception of metrical harmony resembled that of Sandys' *Metamorphoses* much more than that of Dryden

14 The coffee-house, that known as Will's, in Covent Garden compare page 37

16 1701 Really 1700. Johnson makes the same mistake in his life of Dryden

19 Homage, an act of deference and respect, originally such as was paid by a feudal vassal to his superior lord

21 Ode on Solitude, Globe edition, page 45 Pope adds a note to say that it was a very early production, written when he was about twelve, but Dodsley the publisher, "who was honoured with his intimacy," seems to have seen several pieces of a still earlier date

23 Cowley, Abraham Cowley (1618-1667), whose earliest poems were published in 1633, at the age of fifteen (see Johnson's *Life of Milton*, page 2)

27 The Thebais, an epic in twelve books, by Publius Papinius Statius, a Roman poet of the latter half of the first century A D Its subject is the legendary expedition of seven Greek chiefs against Thebes, in Boeotia Pope afterwards corrected and completed this version of Statius, and published it in 1712 see Globe edition, page 153, or Elwin, i, 47.

31 Dryden's Fables were published early in 1700, and contain modernised versions of some of Chaucer's poems see the *Life of Dryden*, page 93

33 Chaucer, Geoffrey Chaucer (1328-1400), the earliest of the great English poets, best known for his *Canterbury Tales*, stories supposed to be told to each other by a number of pilgrims on their way to Canterbury

34 January and May This is the Merchant's Tale, in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* Pope's version was (he says) made at the age of 16 or 17, but not published till 1709 (Globe edition, page 128)

Prologue, &c The Wife of Bath's Tale was modernised by Dryden, who, however, omitted the Prologue Pope published it in 1714 (Globe edition, page 144)

36 Sappho to Phaon (Globe edition, page 99), the fifteenth of Ovid's *Epistolae Heroidum*, or Epistles of Heroines, supposed to be written to their lovers This was translated by Pope in 1707, and published in 1712, as a part of Tonson's Ovid.

40 Silence. See the Globe edition, page 181. After, in imitation of.

Rochester, John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (1647-1680), perhaps the wittiest and most dissolute among the courtiers of Charles II. It was he who patronised Dryden for a time, and then (in all probability) had him waylaid and beaten. He wore out his constitution with excesses of every kind, and died at an early age, leaving a few satires and songs, and the poem upon *Nothing*, which Johnson, in his life of Rochester, calls "the strongest effort of his Muse."

Page 4 2. Numbers, metre, versification

His original, Rochester's poem which he was copying

3 Discovers, displays.

10 Application, attention to his studies. Despatched, accomplished. Voltaire, however, declared that Pope knew no French

15. Panegyrics, eulogies, or expressions of praise; originally, such as might be spoken before a general assembly of the people (Greek, *panegyris*)

16 As he confesses. Mr Ryland refers to Ruffhead's *Life of Pope*, page 26

20 Felicity, good fortune Rate, estimate, value

21. Puerile, youthful, from the Latin *puer*, a boy

22 Alcander, Prince of Rhodes, in which and the neighbouring islands, the scene was laid. The poem opened under water, with a description of the court of Neptune, and Pope wrote four books of it, containing about a thousand lines each (Spence, 24, 276). "I endeavoured," said he to Spence, "in this poem to collect all the beauties of the great epic writers into one piece there was Milton's style in one part, and Cowley's in another, here the style of Spenser imitated, and there of Statius, here Homer and Virgil, and there Ovid and Claudian." Pope professed to have spent about two years on this undertaking, from the age of thirteen to fifteen (Spence, page 279, where a few more details are given). With his usual economy he preserved some of the couplets, and inserted them in other poems, as in the *Essay on Criticism*, 191-2 —

"Whose honours with increase of ages grow,
As streams roll down, enlarging as they flow."

Again, in the *Dunciad*, iii, 55-6 —

"As man's mæanders to the vital spring
Roll all their tides, then back their circles bring."

As an instance of adaptation of sound to sense, Spence quotes this remarkable couplet from the same epic —

"Shields, helms, and swords all jangle as they hang,
And sound formidinous with angry clang"

23 * Atterbury, Francis Atterbury (1662-1732), who, after holding the deaneries of Carlisle and of Christ Church, Oxford, became Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster in 1713. He was one of the leaders of the Tory and High Church party, as well as one of the finest speakers of the time, and was intimate with Swift, Pope, and the other men of letters of the age of Anne. Under George I Atterbury

entered into intrigues with the Jacobites, for which in 1723 he was deprived of all his offices, and banished from England for ever.

Pope told Spence that it was by Atterbury's advice, "a little before he went abroad," that he burnt the poem (Spence, 277), but he really seems to have done it of his own accord for on February 18th, 1717 Atterbury wrote to him—"I am not sorry your *Alcander* is burnt, had I known your intentions, I would have interceded for the first page, and put it, with your leave, among my curiosities" (Elwin, ix, 8).

24 St Genevieve, a shepherd girl who became a nun, and by her prayers and example defended Paris against the Huns and the Franks. She died about 512, and was made the patron saint of Paris, her memory being celebrated on the 3rd of January

25 Tully on Old Age, i e, Marcus Tullius Cicero *De Senectute*. Compare note to page 2, line 37

27 Temple, Sir William Temple (1628-1699), the patron of Swift. He was a distinguished statesman and diplomatist, and the author of a number of Essays, chiefly on political and historical subjects, which Pope read, but "whenever there was anything political in them, I had no manner of feeling for it" (Spence, 199)

Locke, John Locke (1632-1704), one of the most celebrated of English philosophers. His *Essay concerning Human Understanding* appeared in 1690, and passed through twenty editions in the next hundred years, besides being translated into various foreign languages. Pope found it "quite insipid" (Spence, 199).

29 Multifarious, of various kinds, diversified in its nature

32 Sir William Trumbal, Trumball, or Trumbull, was appointed Ambassador at Constantinople in 1687, and in 1691 Secretary of State. In 1697 he retired to his seat near Binfield, where he died in 1716. Macaulay speaks of him as "a learned civilian and an experienced diplomatist, of moderate opinions, and of temper cautious to timidity." Trumbull encouraged Pope to publish his *Essay on Criticism* (1711), and to translate the *Iliad*, whilst Pope, in return, dedicated his first Pastoral to him, and composed an epitaph for him (Globe edition, pages 13,456)

33 Retired from business. We now only use this expression of a merchant or tradesman, we should certainly not apply it to a statesman withdrawing from office

35 Not yet sixteen. The year, therefore, was the beginning of 1704

38 Acquaintance, used as a collective term in a plural sense we should now substitute the plural form

Wanted, been deficient in.

40 Into the world, i e, fashionable society. Compare Swift's letter to Pope, December 2nd, 1736 (Elwin, vii, 347) —"You begun to distinguish so confounded early that your acquaintance with distinguished men of all kinds was almost as ancient as mine. I mean Wycherley, Rowe, Prior, Congreve, Addison, Parnell, &c, not to mention Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, Harcourt, Peterborough."

Page 5 4 Pastorals, poems in which the characters are represented as shepherds. In modern poetry, this is an imitation of the *idylls* of the Greek poets Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, and of the *eclogues* of

Virgil Pastoral poetry was revived in Italy at the end of the 15th century, and spread to France, Spain, and England, becoming in the end so highly artificial and even absurd as to wear out the taste for it.

Pope's pastorals are four in number, named after the Seasons, that they were written at the age of 16 rests only on his own assertion, and he was apt to exaggerate his precocity. Some portion, at any rate, was in existence before April, 1706, but the whole were not published until 1709.

5. Shewn to the poets. Pope tells us that they had passed through the hands of Walsh, Wycherley, Granville (afterwards Lord Lansdowne), Trumbull, Garth, Lord Halifax, Lord Somers, &c. In 1706 Tonson the publisher saw one of them in the hands of Walsh and Congreve, and wrote to Pope, offering to publish it for him.

7 The Preface, which is a *Discourse on Pastoral Poetry* (Globe edition, page 10). This did not appear till 1717, when Pope was twenty-nine, a fact which may explain the maturity of the style, and though Johnson calls it *learned*, "it was avowedly compiled from two or three recent essayists, and demanded nothing from the poet to which the term learning could be properly applied" (Elwin, i., 241).

15. Wycherley, William Wycherley (1640-1715), one of the coarsest of the dramatists of the Restoration period. His master-pieces were *The Country Wife* (1675), and *The Plain Dealer* (1677) but he outlived his dramatic powers, and the verses he scribbled in his old age were contemptible.

17. Without virtue, although he possessed no virtue deserving of esteem.

Caressed, treated with marks of fondness and affection.

19. Dennis, John Dennis (1657-1734), dramatist and critic. Of his plays, most of which were failures, the first ('A Plot and No Plot') was acted in 1697, the last ('Appius and Virginia') in 1709. As a critic, he was ridiculed by Theobald, Swift, and Pope. His temper was soured, and he became an enemy of the wits in general. More impartial judges, however, have discovered real ability in his critical writings, though obscured by the violence of his personalities. His last years were spent in poverty and blindness; and in 1733 a theatrical performance was given for his benefit, for which Pope wrote a somewhat insulting Prologue.

21. Pleasant, amusing. Compare *pleasantly*, as applied to a jest.

Cant, the forms of speech peculiar to any class, in this case, abuse of critics is part of the cant of authors.

27 The old scribbler, &c. All this seems to be based on the letters published by Pope, which are now known to have been altered and edited by him in the most extraordinary manner, so that nothing which merely rests on such evidence can be received with any confidence. In these letters Pope is represented as rebuking and criticising Wycherley with the utmost frankness, while patiently bearing the petulant outbreaks of the older writer's wounded vanity, but the original letters of Wycherley to Pope have now been discovered and published (Courthope, v.), and these show that Pope has completely reversed their respective positions. Of Pope's letters we only know what he has chosen to publish, "but from the terms in which Wycherley writes to him it is hardly likely that his critical censure was conveyed in a form of such uncompromising plainness as he would have us believe. As to the cause of the breach between them, all is uncertainty. The correspondence, which begins in 1704, ends with Pope's

letter of May 2nd, 1710 The latter, in his letters to Cromwell, chooses to believe that his friend had taken offence at the plainness of his criticisms, but the whole tenor of Wycherley's letters makes this explanation improbable. Dennis afterwards declared that Pope had written a satire upon Wycherley, which had come to the other's knowledge" (Courthope, v, 74).

30 Always considered him, &c. Cromwell effected a kind of reconciliation between them in 1711, but, as far as we know, the correspondence was never renewed In Spence (17) Pope is made to say—"We were pretty well together to the last . only his memory was so totally bad that he did not remember a kindness done to him, even from minute to minute He never did any unjust thing to me in his whole life, and I went to see him on his death-bed."

31 Mr Cromwell, Henry Cromwell (1659-1728), a Lincolnshire gentleman, who contributed to Tonson's *Third Miscellany* (1693), containing poems by Dryden and others This correspondence extends from July, 1707, to December, 1711, when Cromwell seems to have resented some of Pope's criticisms, and so closed it He was, it must be remembered, thirty years older than Pope.

33 A-hunting The *a* is corruption of the preposition *on* or *in*.

34 Tye-wig, or tie-wig, a small, light wig, the lower part of which was tied it was distinct both from the usual riding wig, and from the "full-bottomed" wig, worn on important occasions Gay speaks of Cromwell as "honest hatless Cromwell with red breeches," and it is evident that, though elderly, he aimed at being somewhat of a 'rake,' or 'buck,' *i e* , a gay man about town

37 The juvenile version of Statius, the translation of the first book of the *Thebais*, referred to on page 34 Spence (278) makes Pope speak of "that part of Statius which was afterwards printed with the corrections of Walsh"

Page 6 1 Mrs Thomas, Elizabeth Thomas, Cromwell's mistress This was about 1720, and in 1726 she sold them to Curll In this way they passed beyond Pope's control, and he was unable to alter them in the barefaced manner in which he treated most of his correspondence

2 Curll, Edmund Curll (1675-1747), a notorious bookseller, "gifted with knowledge and a ready pen, plenty of courage, and more impudence He had no scruples either in business or private life, but he published and sold many good books" (*Dict. of Nat Biog*)

3. Walsh, William Walsh (1663-1709), one of the poets whose lives were written by Johnson He was also a courtier, member of parliament, and man of fashion, and, according to Dryden, *the best critic in the nation* His works, however, were not numerous, and "he is known," says Johnson, "more by his familiarity with greater men than by anything done or written by himself" Wycherley seems to have introduced Pope to him in 1705, though Pope puts it even earlier—"About fifteen, I got acquainted with Mr Walsh He used to encourage me much, and used to tell me that there was one way left of excelling: for though we had several great poets, we never had any one great poet that was *correct*, and he desired me to make that my study and aim "

14. Will's Compare page 3, line 14.

18. Wanting, &c., not possessing the requisite amount of health or money

23 Nice, particular, scrupulous, fastidious.

28 Account given by himself. Spence (274) quotes Pope as saying that in his "great early fit of reading (from about fourteen to twenty-one)" he read only for the diversion of the story, "now," he added, "it should be to make myself and others better "

34. Tonson, Jacob Tonson (1656-1736), the first of the three famous publishers of that name. He had purchased the copyright of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and had had many dealings (not always of a very friendly character) with Dryden. The latter had published a good deal of work in Tonson's first four Miscellanies, between 1684 and 1694 the fifth appeared in 1703, the sixth (referred to here) in 1709

36 Philips, Ambrose Philips (1675-1749), a zealous Whig in politics, and therefore a friend of Steele, of Addison, and of Swift's opponent, Archbishop Boulter, who procured Philips employment in Ireland. His first published writings were his *Pastorals*, which in his subsequent *Life of Philips* Johnson inconsistently says must have been published "before 1708, because they are evidently prior to those of Pope." In 1712 he produced a successful play, called *The Distressed Mother*

37. Essay on Criticism (Globe edition, page 50) This work, published in 1711, was written in 1709, according to one of Pope's statements to Spence, but in later years, with his usual anxiety to gain a reputation for precocity, Pope alleged that 1709 was a mistake for 1707. At first the publication, which was anonymous, was neglected, but Pope ordered copies to be sent to several noblemen curiosity was thus aroused, the author's name was enquired after, and a laudatory article appeared in the *Spectator*, No 253

Page 7. 1 Addison, Joseph Addison (1672-1719), the well-known Whig essayist and poet. The paper referred to here was the beginning of his friendship with Pope.

The *Spectator*, a journal published daily from March 1, 1711, to December 6, 1712, and consisting entirely of essays on the model of the earlier *Tatler*. Of the 555 *Spectators*, 274 were written by Addison. The present reference is to No 253, published on December 20, 1711, in the course of which Addison observes that, "In our own country a man seldom sets up for a poet, without attacking the reputation of all his brothers in the art I am sorry to find that an author who is very justly esteemed among the best judges has admitted some strokes of this nature into a very fine poem, I mean the *Art of Criticism*, which is a master-piece in its kind." He then proceeds to praise Pope's poem at some length. Pope wrote to thank Steele for this notice, and Steele replied—"That part of your very kind letter which is grounded upon your belief that I have much affection and friendship for you I receive with great pleasure. That which acknowledges the honour done to your Essay I have no pretence to. The paper was written by one with whom I will make you acquainted" (January 20, 1712 *Elwin*, vi, 389)

3 He says, in the Preface to his "Reflections, Critical and Satirical, upon an *Essay on Criticism*." These, however, were published in June, 1711, six months before Addison's essay. The provocation probably consisted in Dennis' having expressed an unfavourable opinion of Pope's *Pastorals*.

7 *Clandestine*, secret, underhand the Latin *clandestinus*, from *clam*, secretly. There was, however, no real secrecy as to the authorship of the *Essay*.

12 How his person is depreciated. This was in lines 585-7, which, however, are intended rather to describe his inability to control his temper.—

"But Appius reddens at each word you speak,
And stares, tremendous, with a threatening eye,
Like some fierce tyrant in old tapestry "

Pope chose the name *Appius* to represent Dennis, on account of the latter's tragedy of *Appius and Virginia*, which failed in 1709. He was subsequently introduced into Pope and Gay's farce, *Three Hours after Marriage*, under the name *Sir Tremendous*, this adjective having been a very favourite epithet with him.

In lines 269, 270, of the *Essay*, Pope wrote that Don Quixote had—

"Discours'd in terms as Just, with looks as sage,
As e'er could Dennis of the Grecian stage "

Dennis seems to have taken this as a compliment, and then complained that it was treacherously meant to cause him to overlook the "abuse of his person" contained in the three lines first quoted.

20 *Raw* is often used metaphorically of that which is untrained, or unexperienced

21 *Discovers, displays* *Sufficiency*, i. e., self-sufficiency, or conceited self-confidence. In this sense Sir W. Temple defines "sufficiency" as "a compound of vanity and ignorance "

23 *Struts* is applied to a proud and affected style of walking

Affects, &c., assumes the manner of a dictator, the latter was originally the name of a magistrate whom the Romans invested with absolute authority in times of great emergency. For *dictatorian* the form *dictatorial* is more commonly used

24 Under the rod, i. e., subject to authority, like a schoolboy or a slave

25. *Pedantic*, making an ostentatious display of learning

33 There are whom, &c. The first two of these lines (80, 81) now appear as—

"Some, to whom Heaven in wit has been profuse,
Want as much more, to turn it to its use "

35 *Wit* has two meanings, first 'fancy,' and then 'judgment.' Mr. Courthope (v, 51) points out other meanings, which the word has in this same poem, such as, pure intellect, genius, conceit, an ingenious writer, &c. All through these uses, however, there runs the common idea of the rapid perception of resemblances in nature, which agrees with Locke's distinction between *wit* and *judgment* (*Essay on the Human Understanding*, c. 1, 2) — "Wit lying most in the assemblage of ideas, and putting those together with quickness and variety, wherein can be found any resemblance or congruity, thereby to make up pleasant pictures and agreeable visions in the fancy; judgment, on the contrary, is quite on the other side, in separating carefully, one from another, ideas wherein can be found the least difference, thereby to avoid being misled by similitude and by affinity to take one thing for another "

39 Too elegant, used ironically, with reference to the coarse metaphor which follows. Numbers, verses

Page 8 2 Sued out, a legal phrase, in which the latter word implies that the divorce has been not only sued for, but obtained

5 Would, expressed a wish to; and yet Dennis himself uses such vulgar language as this

8 Bulls A "bull," in this sense, is an expression containing an absurd contradiction or inconsistency in the terms, often one not noticed by the speaker : such bulls are supposed to be especially characteristic of Irishmen, hence the reference below to "Hibernian land," i. e., Ireland. Pope admits the justice of this criticism in a letter to Caryll of June 25, 1712 (Elwin, vi., 147) — "What he observes was objected to by yourself, and had been mended but for the haste of the press. It is right Hibernian, and I confess it what the English call a bull, in the expression, though the sense be manifest enough."

11. Wanted, not possessed, not present.

16. Correcting the passage, of which he altered one couplet (lines 502-3) This originally ran—

"The more his trouble as the more admired,
Where wanted, scorned, and envied when acquired,"

which was altered into—

"Then most our trouble still when most admired,
And still the more we give, the more required"

18. Delicacy, used ironically.

19 Walsh. See note to page 6, line 3 Pope refers to him in lines 729-738 of the *Essay* —

"Such late was Walsh—the Muse's judge and friend,
Who justly knew to blame or to commend,
To failings mild, but zealous for desert,
The clearest head, and the sincerest heart," &c

22. Essayer, essayist, the writer of the *Essay*.

23. A little young gentleman, i. e., Pope

24 Foil, anything which by contrast serves to show another thing off to advantage, as when a dark colour is used as a foil to enhance the purity of a white object. In this case, it is asserted, Walsh wanted to make his own person and intellect look better by contrast with those of Pope

25 Between Sunninghill and Oakingham, i. e., at Binfield, where Pope was residing

26. Squab, fat.

The God of Love, Cupid, who was represented by the ancients as armed with a bow and arrows. This is a cruel reference to Pope's physical deformity see page 59.

27. Make personal reflections, to jeer at the personal defects of others : see page 7, lines 4, 13.

30 His father, &c. A deformed or sickly child amongst the Greeks was usually exposed in some waste place, and left to perish. The decision rested with the father, who, when the child was placed before him, might take it up in his arms as a sign that he acknowledged and would rear it, or might refuse to have anything to do with it.

31. Had been, would have been.

32 Parts, intellectual abilities

Never so, i. e., in the highest degree.

33. Inward man, his intellectual and moral character,

35 Unthinking, satirically substituted for *thinking*, the soul or mind being usually distinguished from the body by *thought* and *immateriality*.

40 Discovers, shows

Page 91 Pope declared, in a letter to Caryll, July 19, 1711 (Elwin, vi, 152) — "Tonson's printer told me he drew off a thousand copies in his first impression, and I fancy a treatise of this nature, which not one gentleman in three score even of a liberal education can understand, will hardly exceed the vent [sale] of that number "

5 Impression, edition, the total number of copies printed at one time.

6 Thought the monks, &c See lines 687-696, where Pope, after speaking of the fall of the Roman Empire, continues —

" With tyranny then superstition joined,
As that the body, this enslaved the mind,
Much was believed, but little understood,
And to be dull was construed to be good,
A second deluge learning thus o'er-run,
And the monks finished what the Goths begun.
At length Erasmus, that great injured name
(The glory of the priesthood, and the shame),
Stermed the wild torrent of a barbarous age,
And drove those holy Vandals off the stage "

7 Erasmus, a celebrated scholar, born in Holland about 1466 He studied at Paris, at Oxford, and at Cambridge, where he was for a time Professor of Divinity, and Reader in Greek, but finally settled at Basel in Switzerland, where he died in 1536. Himself a Catholic priest, Erasmus saw the corruption of the clergy of his day, and was anxious for reform, but barren theological controversy was very distasteful to him

In a letter to Caryll of June 18, 1711 (Elwin vi, 143), Pope says—" I will set before me that excellent example of that great man and great saint, Erasmus However, I would advise them to suffer the mention of him to pass unregarded, lest I should be forced to do that for his reputation which I would never do for my own—I mean to vindicate so great a light of our Church from the malice of past times and the ignorance of the present, in a language which may extend farther than that in which the trifle about criticism was written " He refers to the subject again in a letter of July 19 (Elwin, vi, 152) Many years later, Pope wrote to Swift—" Yet am I of the religion of Erasmus, a Catholic So I live, so I shall die " (November 28 1729 Elwin, vii, 175) Again, in the *Imitations of Horace* (*Satire* 1, 66) he quotes Erasmus as his model—

" My head and heart thus flowing through my quill,
Verse-man or Prose-man, term me which you will,
Papist or Protestant, or both between,
Like good Erasmus in an honest mean "

9 Hamilton, Anthony Hamilton (1646-1720), of Scotch descent, though born and bred in France

10 Comte de Grammont, or Gramont (1621-1707) a French nobleman who spent many years at the Court of Charles II, where he was very popular He married Miss Hamilton, and at the age of 80 either dictated or revised his *Memoirs*, written by his wife's brother, Anthony Hamilton. It has been said that Gramont's ideal man was a being "without conscience, without principle, without religion, without a soul," and certainly no one has given a more vivid picture of that profligate Court, at which the Count seems to have exceeded even Lord Rochester in wit, gallantry, and sensualism.

11. Resnel, the Abbé Jean Francois du Bellay, Sieur du Resnel (1692-1761), a French priest, who also translated Pope's *Essay on Man*

12. Commented, annotated. We usually speak of 'commenting *on*, or *upon*' a book. but here the verb is used without any preposition

Dr. Warburton, William Warburton (1698-1779), a clergyman who in 1759 was made Bishop of Gloucester see Johnson's character of him, page 87. Of his edition of Pope's Works Mr Elwin says (1, page xx) that "a diseased ambition rendered his talents and opportunities useless. He employed his sagacity less to discover than to distort the ideas of his author, and seems to have thought that the more he deviated from the obvious sense the greater would be his fame for inventive power." His edition was published in 1751

15. Precepts, instructions, rules of conduct

16 Immethodical, wanting in method, unmethodical

17. Positions, principles or views laid down by the author.

21 Hooker, Richard Hooker (died 1600), a great theologian, who wrote in defence of the Church of England. His master-piece, the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, was the first work to prove the capacity of English prose for treating severe subjects with classical force and dignity

Circumduction, a leading round or about: probably obsolete in this sense, except as a technical term of Physics. The *New English Dictionary* quotes examples from Ben Jonson (1637), and from Dr Johnson's letter to Langton, April 13, 1784, but the word does not occur in the passage of Hooker of which Johnson seems to have been thinking—"As by long circuit of deduction it may be even all truth out of any truth may be concluded" (*Eccl. Polity*, II, 1 2.)

22 Homogeneous, possessing the same nature, belonging to the same class.

24 Concatenation, a series linked together into a chain from the Latin *catena*, a chain

27 Specious, seemingly all right as far as external appearance goes; plausible

Aristotle, the Greek philosopher (died B. C. 322), who discusses Courage first of the moral virtues, in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, III., 6. His list of the virtues and vices does not seem to be constructed on any very definite plan; but he discusses Justice last, apparently because it is a mean between extremes in a different way from the others, and Prudence he places, not amongst the *moral* virtues at all, but with the *intellectual* excellences. But though for purposes of exposition he discusses the virtues separately and analytically, he does not mean that they *exist* separately: the ideally good man should possess them all, and hence it makes no practical difference in what order the analysis of them is conducted

28 Cardinal, of fundamental importance, literally, that on which anything hinges, or depends (from the Latin *cardo*, a hinge)

33. End, object Perspicuity, clearness.

36. The Messiah, (Globe edition, page 26), an imitation of Virgil's fourth eclogue, sometimes called the *Pollio*. It appeared in the *Spectator* of May 14, 1712 (No 378). *Messiah* is a corruption of the Hebrew word for "anointed," applied to the long-expected King and deliverer of the

Hebrew race its Greek translation *Christos*, gives us the word *Christ* Pope's poem is taken chiefly from the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah, between which and Virgil's eclogue there is a certain amount of parallelism

17 Steele, Richard Steele (1672-1729), the friend of Addison, and one of the most prominent men of letters in the Age of Anne. He served in the army for a time, publishing his first prose work, *The Christian Hero*, in 1701. From 1709-1711 he edited the *Tatler*, which appeared three times a week, and to which Addison also contributed a number of essays. Subsequently the two friends produced the *Spectator*, and then the *Guardian*. In politics Steele was a Whig, and lost his post of "Gazetteer" under the Tory Government of Harley and Bolingbroke, but after the return of the Whigs to power in 1714, he received several minor appointments, and was knighted.

39 The Unfortunate Lady, an *Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady* (Globe edition, page 90), first published in 1717. It has now been shown that the bulk of the poem is due to Pope's imagination, though partly suggested by the misfortunes of a Mrs Weston, who soon after her marriage was separated from her husband. Pope interested himself warmly in her cause, and after a time the quarrel was adjusted, the lady dying a natural death years after the publication of the poem. The "false guardian" spoken of below was Sir William Goring, whom Caryll had urged (at Pope's suggestion) to interfere on behalf of Mrs Weston. Goring, however, refused to do so.

Page 10 3 Mr Ruffhead, Owen Ruffhead, the author of a *Life of Pope*, published in 1769, the materials for which were supplied by Warburton. Boswell tells us (ii, 166) that Johnson censured it, saying of Ruffhead—"He knew nothing of Pope, and nothing of poetry." In the present instance Ruffhead followed the account given in Ayre's *Life of Pope* (1745), which has now been shown to be an elaborate and fictitious romance.

6 Ward, a person under the care of a legal guardian.

8 An equal match, a marriage with a man who was her equal in social position.

16 Vows, promises to be faithful to her.

29. A false guardian, in line 29—

"But thou, false guardian of a charge too good,
Thou mean deserter of thy brother's blood!"

34 Rape of the Lock, "an heroic-comical poem" first published in 1712. It was subsequently enlarged from two to five cantos, and re-published in 1714 (Globe edition, page 71).

36 Gallantry, in the sense of politeness and attention to ladies. The date of this incident was 1711.

37 Lord Petre, Robert, seventh Lord Petre (1690-1713). In 1712 he married a great Lancashire heiress, named Catherine Walmsley, and died a year later.

Mrs *Isabella Fermor* in 1714 married a Berkshire gentleman named Perkins, and died in 1738. A writer of the present day would have called her *Miss*, but in the last century that title was reserved for small girls, and unmarried, as well as married, women were addressed as *Mrs*, i. e. *Mistress*.

38 Commerce, intercourse.

39 Mr Caryl, &c Johnson was here misled by Ruffhead The secretary to Mary of Modena, James the Second's queen, was John Caryll, created a peer by King James when in exile he died at the age of 86 in 1711, and can never have been seen by Pope The Caryll of the *Rape of the Lock* was the other's nephew and heir, and lived till 1736 His correspondence with Pope extended from 1710 to 1735, and the original letters have since been discovered and published, affording startling evidence of the way in which Pope thought fit to "edit" his correspondence He had waited until Caryll's death rendered such a proceeding safe, as he thought, but unfortunately for him, Caryll had without his knowledge kept copies of all the letters which he had most unwillingly returned at Pope's request. The details of this "sorry tale" are given in Courthope, v, 292-294

41. The author, &c. These remarks apply to the elder Caryll, not to Pope's correspondent. He produced two successful plays, *The English Princess, or the Death of Richard III*, 1666, and *Sir Salomon, or the Cautious Coxcomb*, 1671 In the translation of Ovid's *Epistles* by Dryden and others, published in 1680, Caryll was responsible for one, and to a Miscellany published by Dryden and others in 1683 he contributed a translation of Virgil's first Eclogue, and other verses.

Page 11 9 The notice of a wit, to receive the amount of notice due to a wit, *i e*, a man of literary ability.

Endeavour, here used transitively with a direct object. We no longer use it in this way, but introduce the infinitive of some other verb, *e g*, "endeavour to effect a reconciliation"

4 His name was marked, &c., in the opening lines of the poem—

"What dire offence from amorous causes springs,
What mighty contests rise from trivial things,
I sing—This verse to Caryll, Muse, is due
This even Belinda may vouchsafe to view,
Slight is the subject, but not so the praise
If she inspire, and he approve, my lays"

6 Cantos, an Italian name sometimes applied to the divisions of a long poem.

9. Surreptitious, carried out secretly, and without proper authority. In the dedication to Miss Fermor, prefixed to the second edition, Pope says—"An imperfect copy having been offered to a bookseller, you had the good-nature, for my sake, to consent to the publication of one more correct. This I was forced to, before I had executed half my design, for the machinery was entirely wanting to complete it" This excuse for publication Elwin (ii, 121) calls a "miserable farce—one of those transparent pretences which deceived no one except the person who fancied that he was deceiving"

13 Sir Plume, to whom Belinda appeals to recover the lock of hair for her (canto iv, 121)—

"She said then raging to Sir Plume repairs,
And bids her beau demand the precious hairs
(Sir Plume of amber snuff-box justly vain,
And the nice conduct of a clouded cane)
With earnest eyes, and round unthinking face,
He first the snuff-box opened, then the case,
And thus broke out—"My Lord, why, what the devil?
Zounds! damn the lock!" fore Gad, you must be civil!"

15 Who presided, &c She was prioress of the convent of English Austin nuns

In a letter to the younger Caryl, of November 8, 1712 (Elwin, vi, 162) Pope says—"Sir Plume blusters, I hear, nay, the celebrated lady herself is offended, and, which is stranger, not at herself, but me"

18 Its first appearance The first form of the poem seems to have been completed in August, 1711, and was published in Lintot's *Miscellany*, in May, 1712

Merum sal, literally, pure salt, an expression taken from the Roman poet Lucretius, iv, 1162 The term "salt" was metaphorically applied to witty writing or conversation

20 Machinery "The machinery," says Pope in the dedication prefixed to this poem, "is a term invented by the critics to signify that part which the deities, angels, or dæmons are made to act in a poem" The term is derived from the *machines* employed in the ancient theatres for bringing such supernatural characters on the stage

21 Rosicrucians, a society of students of alchemy and magic, alleged to have existed in Germany in the 16th century In the dedication to the poem Pope says that the best account of them is to be found in a French book called *Le Comte de Gabalis* "According to these gentlemen," he continues, "the four elements are inhabited by spirits, which they call Sylphs, Gnomes, Nymphs, and Salamanders" But the whole affair of the Rosicrucians, with all the controversial literature connected with the subject, seems to have been an elaborate mystification, originating with a book published anonymously in Germany in 1614, which invited European scholars to join a secret society, said to have been founded two hundred years before by one Christian Rosenkreuz, a pilgrim who had learnt much of the secret wisdom of the East

25 Conduct, the way in which Pope would work it out Macaulay, like Johnson, vindicates the advice of Addison, on the general principle, proved by long and wide experience, that a successful work of imagination is injured by being recast "Who was to foresee that Pope would once in his life be able to do what he could not himself do twice, and what nobody else has ever done?" For Pope's second attempt in this direction, see page 55

31 Efflorescence, literally, the flowering of a plan, its bursting into flower

33 Shooting, germinating or sprouting, like the young *shoots* of a growing plant

37 Berkeley, George Berkeley (1685-1753), made Dean of Derry in Ireland in 1724, and Bishop of Cloyne in 1734 He is one of the most famous of English philosophers, amongst his works being a *New Theory of Vision*, *Principles of Human Knowledge*, and *Alciphron*

Congratulated him, in a letter of May 1, 1714 (Elwin, iv, 1) —

"Style, painting, judgment, spirit, I had already admired in other of your writings, but in this I am charmed with the magic of your invention, with all those images, allusions, and inexplicable beauties which you raise so surprisingly, and at the same time so naturally, out of a trifle"

Page 12 1 He always considered, &c Compare Spence, 142—"The *Rape of the Lock* was written fast all the machinery was added afterwards, and the making that and what was published before hit so well together is, I think, one of the greatest proofs of judgment of any thing I ever did."

5. Casualty, the result of chance or accident, unforeseen and undesigned

10. Dennis See page 5, line 19 His "Remarks on Mr Pope's *Rape of the Lock*" was published in 1728

13 Temple of Fame, Globe edition, page 113 This poem, the outline of which was taken from Chaucer's *House of Fame*, was composed in 1711, but not published until 1715.

14 He tells Steele, in a letter of November 12, 1712 (Elwin, vi, 395)—"I was really so diffident of it as to let it lie by me these two years, just as you now see it" Steele had written to say that he had read the poem over twice, and could not find anything amiss, "of weight enough to call a fault, but see in it a thousand thousand beauties."

15. An early time, &c We know that the poem underwent a considerable revision before it was published, in Pope's *twenty-seventh* year, and even without this, "it is surprising that Johnson should have thought that a very small amount of classical mythology, and an acquaintance with the broad characteristics of a few celebrities of antiquity, was an unusual acquisition even for a man of twenty-two The observation of life, also, is not of the recoudite kind, and belongs exclusively to Chaucer" (Elwin, i., 199.)

18 Some remarks, called "Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer, with two Letters concerning *Windsor Forest* and the *Temple of Fame*," published by Curll in 1717.

19 Some of the lines, in the description of the sculptures with which the Temple of Fame was decorated, *c.g.*, lines 83-92. —

"Here Orpheus sings, trees moving to the sound
Start from their roots, and form a shade around
Amphion there the loud creating lyre
Strikes, and beholds a sudden Thebes aspire!
Cithæron's echoes answer to his call,
And half the mountain rolls into a wall
There might you see the lengthening spires ascend,
The domes swell up, the widening arches bend,
The growing towers like exhalations rise,
And the huge columns heave into the skies "

The same defect (if it be one) is found in both Homer and Virgil, in the former, in part of the description of the shield of Achilles (*Iliad*, xviii.); in the latter, in the description of the shield of Æneas. (*Æneid*, viii.)

21 Eloisa to Abelard (Globe edition, page 105), first published in 1717 Abelard was one of the most famous of the mediæval scholastic philosophers, but his unfortunate passion for his pupil Héloïse brought disaster upon both of them, and Abelard retired from the University of Paris into a monastery, where he died in 1142. Héloïse, who had been secretly married to him, became a nun, and died in 1163 Their letters have been frequently published and translated, and were used by Pope in the composition of his poem, which is an imitation of Ovid's *Herioides*

23 Mr Savage, Richard Savage (1698-1743), a minor poet whose life was written at considerable length by Johnson According to this he was a son of the Countess of Macclesfield, but by Richard Savage, Lord Rivers' hence the child was declared illegitimate, and being disowned by his family, led a most chequered career There is, however, good reason to suppose that most of the story given by Johnson is a romance, and that, though the Countess had two illegitimate children, Richard Savage was an impostor.

Prior, Matthew Prior (1664-1721), who first attracted notice by his share in the *Country Mouse and the City Mouse* (1687), written in conjunction with Charles Montague (afterwards Earl of Halifax) to ridicule Dryden's *Hind and P ather*. His poem of *Henry and Emma* is what Johnson refers to here, since it professed to be based on the old English ballad of the Nut-brown Maid

30 The solitude of a grove, in which Prior places the characters of his poem

33 Windsor Forest (Globe edition, page 31) The publication of this secured him the friendship of Swift, who wrote to Stella on March 9, 1713—"Mr Pope has published a fine poem called *Windsor Forest* Read it "

34 As he relates, in a note prefixed to it, in which we are told that the earlier part was written in 1704, the rest in 1713 The division occurs at line 290, where Pope gives a note stating that "all the lines that follow were not added to the poem till the year 1710," which is not only inconsistent with the previous statement, but impossible, since some of them refer to the Peace of Utrecht in 1713

37 The Peace of Utrecht, which put an end to the war between France and Spain on one side and England and her Continental allies on the other The passage referred to begins at line 355—

"Hail, sacred peace! hail, long-expected days," &c

The Peace was not actually concluded at the time when the poem was published, but it had been in preparation for some time

Lord Lansdowne, George Granville (1667-1735), who first gained a name by writing plays, but in 1702 entered Parliament as a Tory He subsequently became Secretary for War, and in 1711 was created Lord Lansdowne His life was written by Johnson, who says of Granville's poems that "he had no ambition above the imitation of Waller, of whom he has copied the faults and very little more " However he saw Pope's merits early, admiring the *Pastorals*, and helping to bring about the publication of *Windsor Forest*

39 Gave great pain, &c This is asserted by Warton, in his *Essay on Pope*, on the authority of "a person of the small rank " But Addison had already eulogised Tickell's *Prospect of Peace*, which shows that he could not have disapproved of *Windsor Forest* on political grounds Whether he was jealous of its poetical superiority or not, we cannot say at any rate, he accepted Pope's prologue to his *Cato* less than two months later, which does not look like such jealousy

Page 13 9 The revival of *Cato* Addison had long since planned a tragedy on the subject of the death of Cato the younger, the stubborn opponent of Julius Cæsar, and is even said to have completed four acts by 1703 These he showed to Pope and others, and in 1713 was urged to finish the work, which he did somewhat hurriedly *Cato* was then produced on the stage, and met with a great success "The Whigs," says Johnson in his *Life of Addison*, "applauded every line in which Liberty was mentioned, as a satire on the Tories, and the Tories echoed every clap, to show that the satire was unfelt "

A Prologue, given in the Globe edition, page 92. The play was produced on April 14, 1713

10 His Remarks, called "Remarks on *Cato*," 1713 "No sooner was *Cato* offered to the reader than it was attacked by the acute malignity of Dennis, with all the violence of angry criticism Dennis, though equally zealous for what they called Liberty, and though a flatterer of the Whig ministry, could not sit quiet at a successful play" (Johnson, *Life of Addison*).

11. Narrative, &c. "The Narrative of Dr Robert Norris concerning the Strange and Deplorable Frenzy of Mr. John Dennis, an Officer of the Custom-House" (Elwin, x., 450)

14 Disingenuous, wanting in frankness, mean and unworthy.

Says Pope, in a letter dated July 20, 1713 (Elwin, vi., 398)—"It was never in my thoughts to have offered you my pen in any direct reply to such a critic, but only in some little raillery, not in defence of you, but in contempt of him. But indeed your opinion," &c But all the published letters of Pope to Addison seem to have been concocted by the former after Addison's death, and the one from which this quotation is taken was originally addressed to *Caryll*, on November 19, 1712, with reference to a recent attack on him in the *Flying Post* This illustrates what has already been said as to the unscrupulous manner in which Pope prepared his correspondence for publication.

19 Cant of sensibility, this pretence of delicate feeling which would not allow Pope to endure an attack on his friend

20 Having disowned it Addison caused Steele to write to Lintot the publisher a letter intended to be shown to Dennis, in which it was stated that Addison wholly disapproved of the manner in which Dennis had been treated "When he thinks fit to take notice of Mr Dennis's objections to his writings, he will do it in a way Mr Dennis shall have no just reason to complain of."

21. Officiousness, meddlesomeness, eagerness to interfere in matters with which he had no concern

22. The Guardian, a journal started by Steele in 1713 One hundred and seventy-five numbers were issued, a number of the essays being contributed by Addison. The issue referred to here was that of April 27, 1713 (No 40). It will be remembered that the Pastorals of Philips and Pope had appeared in the same volume (see page 6) the former had attracted more attention than Pope liked, and in Nos 22, 23, 28, 30, 32 of the *Guardian* a series of papers appeared (probably by Tickell) praising them in the highest degree, whilst Pope's work was entirely passed over—nay more, the writer maintained that there had only been four true pastoral poets, Theocritus, Virgil, Spenser, and Philips Pope was now very angry, and wrote a paper, professing to be the sixth of the same series, "with the pretended motive of clearing the writer from the charge of partiality in having made no mention of the poems of Pope Imitating, with admirable dexterity, the tone of exaggerated praise which had characterised the earlier criticisms, he continued to illustrate the true principles of pastoral poetry from Philips' practice, but in such a way as to show the judicious reader, by the examples given, either the absurdity of Philips or the superior merit of Pope" (Courthope, v., 90) The essay was sent in to the *Guardian* anonymously, and Steele is said to have been so far deceived as to show it to Pope, who pretended to be quite indifferent to the attack on himself, and begged that it might be printed Philips was so much enraged that he hung up a birch-rod at Button's Coffee-house, threatening to use it on Pope, if he ventured to appear there Accordingly, Pope began to transfer his patronage back to Will's, which he had frequented before taking to Button's.

Johnson's remark below, about Addison's "malice" in allowing the publication, seems to be unsupported by any evidence

34 Jervas, Charles Jervas (died 1739), a portrait-painter frequently employed by George I and George II, though his abilities were not great. In fact, his master, Sir Godfrey Kneller, remarked, on hearing that Jervas had set up a carriage and four horses—"Mine Cot, if his horses do not draw better than he does, he will never get to his journey's end"

36 To sit, in order that he might paint them

37. Betterton, Thomas Betterton, a celebrated actor, who died in 1710. He was for a time a member of the Duke's Company, under the management of Sir William Davenant, and is repeatedly mentioned by Pepys, who calls him "the best actor in the world"

38 Lord Mansfield, William Murray (1704-1793), a celebrated lawyer who entered Parliament in 1742, and eventually became Lord Chief Justice, and Baron Mansfield in 1756. In 1776 he was advanced to an earldom. Throughout his career he was the rival and opponent of Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham), and was bitterly attacked in several of the letters of the mysterious author known as "Junius"

From the life, painted from the actual man. According to Cunningham it was only a copy

40 Encomiastic, full of praises, laudatory. from the Greek *encomium*, praise.

These verses are entitled, "An Epistle to Mr Jervas, with Mr Dryden's Translation of Fresnoy's *Art of Painting*" (Globe edition, page 449)

Page 14 2 Under his name "Chaucer's Characters, or the Introduction to the Canterbury Tales" was published in Lintot's Miscellany for 1712 and under April 7, Lintot's account-book contains the entry of a payment of £5. 7s 6d to Betterton for "The Miller's Tale, with some characters from Chaucer." Betterton was then dead, but the payment may have been made to his widow

4 Mr Harte, Walter Harte (1709-1774), an Oxford man who became very intimate with Pope—"a very valuable young man," as the poet calls him. Johnson also recommended him as a scholar, and as "a man of the most companionable talents he had ever known." He was the author of poems, as well as historical and other writings

5 Fenton, Elijah Fenton (1685-1730), a minor poet, best known as having assisted Pope in the translation of the *Odyssey*. Pope described him (Spence, 19), as "a right honest man. he is fat and indolent, a very good scholar, sits within, and does nothing but read or compose." As to his indolence there is a story that Fenton took to fishing as an amusement, because it allowed him to sit still and do nothing, but finally had to abandon it because the fish bit, and gave him the trouble of hauling them up

6 Hand, handwriting

12 His religion, &c. Roman Catholics were then excluded from every office, and subject to a number of annoying restrictions

13 Wanted, had not sufficient. Compare Spence, 304 — "What led me into the translation of the *Iliad* was purely the want of money. I had then none, not even to buy books."

20 Dryden's *Virgil*, published in 1697 Cunningham points out that the first volume of *verse* published by subscription was the folio edition of *Paradise Lost* in 1688 The plan is still sometimes adopted with expensive books likely to have only a limited circulation

21 The *Tatlers*, &c. Steele's *Tatler* was first issued in April, 1709, and appeared three times a week until January, 1711, Addison contributing to 42 out of the 271 numbers

34 Quarto, a book in which the sheets are folded twice, so as to give *four* leaves (eight pages) to each sheet

39 Lord Oxford, Robert Harley, the Tory leader, created Earl of Oxford in 1711 In 1714, in spite of the efforts of Swift, he quarrelled with Bolingbroke and was dismissed from office a few days before the death of the Queen After the accession of George I, and the return of the Whigs to power, Oxford was imprisoned for a time, and subsequently retired into private life

Page 15. 2 Half the nation, i e., of one political party In a letter published by Pope as being from Addison (November 2, 1713 *Elwin*, vi, 402) the latter says—"You gave me leave once to take the liberty of a friend, in advising you not to content yourself with one half of the nation for your admirers, when you might command them all If I might take the freedom to repeat it, I would on this occasion "

6. Highest bidder, the person who offered the highest sum, an expression most commonly used of auctions

Bernard Lintot (1675-1736), one of the most important booksellers of the time Besides some of Pope's works he published for Gay, Farquhar, Fenton, Parnell, Rowe, Steele, &c., and Swift wrote of him—

"His character's beyond compare,
Like his own person, large and fair "

12 A small folio, a book formed by folding each sheet only once, so as to make two leaves or four pages An experiment with an ordinary piece of paper will show that such a book will be long in proportion to its width, whereas if the paper is folded twice, so as to give a quarto, the shape is much squarer Hence, if the top and bottom of a folio are cut away, it can be made to look like a quarto though if the paper is "water-marked," or the various sheets numbered, the fraud can soon be detected

18. Royal paper A sheet of such paper usually measures 25 inches by 20, hence, a folio of royal paper will stand about 20 inches high.

25 Duodecimo In this form (often written "12mo") each sheet is folded so as to give *twelve* leaves (Latin *duodecim*, twelve), or twenty-four pages

28 Commodious, convenient

30 An intermediate gradation After the *folio* and *quarto* comes the *octavo* ("8vo"), each sheet giving *eight* leaves, or sixteen pages, (Latin *octavus*, eighth)

32 Were now subjoined Cunningham remarks that this is not quite correct, since in the London edition of 1718-21, in six volumes, duodecimo, the notes are at the end of each volume

37 Emitted, issued, published

Engaged, pledged, placed under an obligation or contract.

Page 16 2 As he said See Spence, 218.—“What terrible moments does one feel after one has engaged for a large work ! In the beginning of my translating the *Iliad*, I wished anybody would hang me, a hundred times It sat so heavily on my mind at first, that I often used to dream of it, and do sometimes still ” Spence adds that Pope used to dream that he was engaged in a long journey, and puzzled which way to take.

6 He represents himself, &c. “When I fell into the method of translating thirty or forty verses before I got up, it went on easy enough and when I was thoroughly got into the way of it, I did the rest with pleasure.. I wrote most of the *Iliad* fast, a great deal of it on journeys, and often forty or fifty verses in a morning in bed ” (Spence, 218, 142)

12 Wants, is without

14 Addison, &c , in the letter published by Pope with the date of November 2, 1713, and already quoted in the note to page 15, line 2.

15 Some of the Tories, &c In a professed reply to the above letter Pope says —“ An honest Jacobite spoke to me the sense, or nonsense, of the weak part of his party very fairly—that the good people took it ill of me that I writ with Steele, though upon never so indifferent subjects ” (Elwin, vi , 403) But this supposed letter to Addison is really a compound of three letters written to Caryl in the course of 1713.

19 Called in question, expressed doubts as to

21 One of his letters, that to Mr Bridges, printed by Johnson at the end of the *Life* see page 88

28. His positions are general, the point of view from which he writes, and the principles he lays down are not peculiar and local, but founded on our common human nature, and therefore of wide application.

31 Original, belonging to the essence of human nature, as opposed to *accidental*, that which depends on local and temporary circumstances, and which may be true only for one nation or one generation

Page 17 4 The music of the numbers, the melodious flow of the versification, which of course is absent from a literal and unversified translation

7 Eobanus Hessus, a German poet (1488-1540), to whom Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, extended his patronage He was the friend of Erasmus and other eminent men, and his verses, according to Hallam, were the best that Germany then had to boast

8 La Valterie, the author of a prose version of Homer, the third edition of which seems to have been published in 1708.

Dacier, Madame Anna Dacier (1654-1720), who edited and translated several other classics besides Homer “The knowledge of Greek in a woman had become prodigious in the days of Louis XIV, and this distinguished lady appeared a phoenix in the eyes of her countrymen” (Hallam) Her husband was also a distinguished scholar, the author of a translation of Horace, and other works

9 Chapman, George Chapman, poet and dramatist (died 1634) He published a translation of seven books of the *Iliad* in 1598 in 1611 the complete *Iliad* appeared, followed by the *Odyssey* in 1614

Hobbes, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) a celebrated philosopher, published a version of the *Odyssey* in 1674, and one of the *Iliad* in 1675.

Ogylby See note to page 2, line 1

23 Eustathius, a Greek monk, who became Archbishop of Thessalonica in 1160, and of Myra in 1174. His most important work was his elaborate commentary on Homer, first printed about 1550

24. I suspect Pope, &c Cunningham quotes an unpublished letter of June 15, 1727, from Broome to Fenton—"All the crime I have committed is saying that he is no master of Greek, and I am so confident of this that if he can translate ten lines of Eustathius, I'll own myself unjust and unworthy"

28 Broome, William Broome, a clergyman (1689-1745), who has found a place in Johnson's *Lives* "Though it cannot be said that he was a great poet, it would be unjust to deny that he was an excellent versifier"

30 Fenton's letter, preserved in the British Museum, because part of Pope's *Iliad* is written on the back of it.

32 Whatever was the reason It was probably his marriage with a rich widow, in July, 1716 Fenton's letter belongs to 1718

34 Thirlby Dr. Thirlby of Jesus College, Cambridge, where he was tutor to the man next mentioned He is mentioned in Fenton's letter (Elwin, viii 39).

35 Jortin, John Jortin (1698 1770), afterwards prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral, and Archdeacon of London He subsequently professed to have forgotten what Pope gave him for each book, but "had a notion" that it was three or four guineas ..When that part of Homer came out in which I had been concerned, I was much pleased to find that he had not only used almost all my notes, but had hardly made any alteration in the expressions I was in some hopes in those days, for I was young, that Mr Pope would make inquiry about his coadjutor, and take some civil notice of him, but he did not, and I had no notion of obtruding myself upon him I never saw his face"

39 The terms "Johnson carelessly uses the word in two distinct senses in this line" (Ryland)

Page 18 5 Parnell, Thomas Parnell (1679-1718), an Irish clergyman who became Archdeacon of Clogher, and whose life is amongst those written by Johnson He was a friend of Swift, and a member of the Scriblerus Club, in which Swift, Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, &c, were associated but his poems are worth little, the best known being the *Hermit*.

6 Took great pains, &c Compare Spence, 138—"I collected everything that was worth notice, and classed it, and then Archdeacon Parnell wrote the Essay on his Life It is still stiff, and was written much stiffer As it is, I think verily it cost me more pains in the correcting than the writing of it would have done"

9 He began it, &c These dates are wrong according to a note by Pope in his *Dunciad*, where he says that he began the *Iliad* in 1713, and finished it in 1719.

11 Fifty lines a day. See page 16, line 7 Pope does not say more than that he *sometimes* did forty or fifty lines in the morning, which he mentions as an example of unusual speed.

16. Mercenaries, those whom he hired to assist him: usually applied to hired soldiers.

23 Take their turns of retardation, take turns to delay the work.

40 Lord Oxford See page 14, line 39

His disqualification, owing to Pope's religion, see page 14, line 12.

Page 19 1 Mr Craggs, James Craggs, a Whig, who became Secretary at War in 1717, and then succeeded Addison as Secretary of State in 1720. Not long afterwards he was accused of corruption in connection with the South Sea Bubble, and died in 1721, whilst the matter was under investigation. Pope corresponded a good deal with him, and addressed a poetical Epistle to him (Globe edition, page 448), besides writing his epitaph.

4 Told him, &c See Spence, 307 — "Craggs told me, as a real friend, that a pension of three hundred pounds a year was at my service, and that, as he had the management of the secret-service money in his hands, he could pay me such a pension yearly without any one's knowing that I had it. I declined this, but thanked Mr Craggs for the heartiness and sincerity of his friendship, told him that I did not much like a pension any way, but that, since he had so much goodness towards me, if I should want money I would come to him for a hundred pounds, or even for five hundred, if my wants ran so high."

10. Squander, waste in an extravagant manner

11 Annuities, investments which bring in a certain sum of money yearly for the life of the person purchasing them

12 Five hundred Cunningham says that the real sum was two hundred. Pope, that is, advanced a certain sum of money to the representatives of the Duke, on condition of receiving this annuity

15 Deduce trace the successive stages Johnson says almost the same in the *Life of Milton*, page 31 — "In the history of *Paradise Lost* a deduction thus minute will rather gratify than fatigue"

25 Bolingbroke, Henry St John (1678-1751), the Tory leader, created Viscount Bolingbroke in 1712. He quarrelled with Lord Oxford, and succeeded in driving him from office in 1714, but his plans were upset by the death of Queen Anne only a few days later, and Bolingbroke had been so much implicated in Jacobite intrigues that he dared not face the triumphant Whigs, but fled to France. He was permitted to return to England in 1723, though from 1735 to the retirement of Walpole in 1742, Bolingbroke again found it convenient to live in France. He was intimate with Swift, Gay, Prior, and the other men of letters of the age, as well as with Pope.

26 Mallet, David Mallet, or Malloch (1698-1765), a Scotchman who did literary hack-work for Bolingbroke, Thomson (author of the *Seasons*), and others. His life was written by Johnson, who remarks that "as a writer he cannot be placed in any high class." As Bolingbroke's literary executor, he published that statesman's works after his death, and amongst them some attacks on the Christian religion, which gave rise to Johnson's well-known denunciation, thus recorded by Boswell — "Sir, Bolingbroke was a scoundrel and a coward, a scoundrel for charging a blunderbuss against religion and morality, a coward, because he had not resolution to fire it off himself, but left half-a-crown to a beggarly Scotchman, to draw the trigger after his death."

27 Dr Maty, Matthew Maty, M D (1718-1776), secretary to the Royal Society, and one of the librarians of the British Museum. Boswell tells us that to a friend who suggested that Maty's assistance might be

useful in certain work Johnson exclaimed—"He, the little black dog! I'd throw him into the Thames."

Reposited, deposited: a rare word

30 An intermediate copy. "This," says Cunningham, "was the case. The copy that was sent to the press was made by a Mr. Doncastle, one of Pope's neighbours at Binfield."

32 Transcripts, written copies—These were made for Johnson by his friend, Mrs. Thrale.

38 Peleus' son, Achilles, a hero on the Greek side also called by the patronymic *Pelides*. The first two lines, as now printed, run—

"Achilles' wrath, to Greece the direful spring
Of woes unnumbered, heavenly Goddess, sing!"

39 O Goddess, the Muse whom the poet invokes to inspire him.

40 Pluto, the god of the infernal regions. Reign, kingdom: the Latin *regnum*

Page 20 5 Phrygian. Phrygia was the region of Asia Minor in which Troy was situated.

11. Atrides, the son of Atreus, i. e., Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, and supreme leader of the Greeks.

12 Sovereign doom, supreme decree Jove, or Jupiter, the supreme Latin god, corresponding to the Greek Zeus.

19 Latona's son, Phœbus Apollo, the sun-god, and patron of poetry and art he was also regarded as the author of pestilences and sudden deaths

Dire contagion, dreadful plague.

21 The King of men, a constant Homeric phrase for Agamemnon

His, Apollo's the priest's name was Chryses

36 Ensigns, the symbols which showed that he was Apollo's priest; they are named in the next line but one

52 The brother kings, Agamemnon and his brother Menelaus, king of Sparta. It was to recover Helen, the wife of Menelaus, that the expedition was undertaken.

53 Vows be crowned, i. e., may your hopes of taking Troy be fulfilled.

Page 21. 16 Chryseis, the daughter of Chryses.

25 The fair, i. e., the fair maiden

28. He said, such was his speech

32. Not so, &c, from Dryden's version of the First book of the *Iliad*, published in his *Fables* (1700). The line occurs in the account of the incident as given by Achilles later on to his mother. see lines 523-4 in Dryden's version (Scott and Saintsbury, xii., 392):—

"Not so the tyrant, who with scorn the priest
Received, and with opprobrious words dismissed."

37. Yet a former copy, i. e., a still earlier one.

P. 11,

Deformed, disfigured. We should hardly use the word in such a context now.

38. Interlineations, corrections written between the lines.

46 Thetis' son, Achilles, his father was Peleus, his mother the sea-goddess, Thetis.

Page 22 3 Embattled train, his army arranged in order of battle.

4 Legions The legion was properly a division of the *Roman* army: hence the term is somewhat inappropriate here. The text, as now printed, reads—

"Lead all his Grecians to the dusty plain."

9 At Juno's suit, at the request of Juno, the wife of Jupiter, who corresponded to the Greek Hêrê, the wife of Zeus she was in favour of the Greeks, whilst several other deities supported the Trojans.

10 Devoted, doomed to destruction

12. Ithum, another name for Troy. Nodding, because already tottering to its fall

13 Invocation. &c The latter portion of Book 11 is taken up with a list of the Greek leaders and their forces, commonly called the Catalogue of the Ship. Homer begins it by a fresh invocation of the virgin goddesses, the nine Muses

18. Abyss, properly, a bottomless pit the Greek *abyssos*.

20 But, only By rumour. We only know by tradition who were present at Troy, and so may be mistaken

But boast we know The immortal Muses know for certain, whereas our boasted knowledge may be at fault.

24. Adamantine is applied to anything that is excessively hard: *adamant* (Greek, *a-damas*, un-tameable) being a fabulous substance of impenetrable hardness

26 Olympus, the abode of the Greek deities: originally, an actual mountain in northern Greece.

28 Resound, celebrate with the voice or by music. The word is usually intransitive in English

36 Pallas, or Athênê, the virgin goddess who sprang fully armed from the head of Zeus: she created the olive, and was the patroness of Athens, as well as goddess of wisdom.

Tydidēs, Diomedes, son of Tydeus—one of the Greek heroes.

40 Helm, helmet. Play, dart backwards and forwards.

41. Beamy, emitting beams of light.

42. The red star, &c The splendid star known as Sirius is meant.

52 Crest, the upper part of the helmet.

Page 23. 1 Buckler, shield.

10 He refers to the "red star" Rears, raises

13 Effulgence, a flood of light streaming forth.

29 Vulcan, the Latin god of fire, corresponding to the Greek Hephaestus Fane, shrine, sanctuary, temple: Latin, *fanum*.

36. Refulgent, shining brightly.

37. Azure, a deep blue colour.

44. In prospect seems to mean in the distance, or background, of the view before the eyes of the supposed spectator.

46. Conscious swains, the peasants who are sensible of the beauty and usefulness of the light.

47 Eye the blue vault, gaze at the blue vault of heaven

49 Xanthus, a river in the neighbourhood of Troy (Ilion).

51. The spires. A *spire* being a tower tapering to a point, and being generally found in connection with a Christian church, Pope is rather bold in speaking of the spires of Troy.

52. Piles, the wood-fires kindled by the Trojans who were encamped in the plain.

Dusky horrors, the darkness and gloom of night.

Page 24. 2. Umbered, darkened with *umber*, a reddish brown clay. There is nothing in the Greek corresponding to this.

By fits, by fits and starts, intermittently, *i. e.*, at irregular intervals, according to the movements of the men, or the drifting of the smoke from the fires.

3 The coursers, a poetical term for horses.

12. Gale, breeze.

It may be interesting to compare Pope's elaborate version of this well-known passage with the original as straightforwardly translated by Butcher and Lang—"Even as when in heaven the stars about the bright moon shine clear to see, when the air is windless, and all the peaks appear, and the tall headlands and glades, and from heaven breaketh open the infinite air, and all stars are seen, and the shepherd's heart is glad; even in like multitude between the ships and the streams of Xanthos appeared the watchfires that the Trojans kindled in front of Illos, A thousand fires burned in the plain, and by the side of each sat fifty in the gleam of blazing fire And the horses champ'd white bley and spelt, and standing by their chariots waited for the throned Dawn." Yet another version will be found amongst Tennyson's *Experiments*.

Page 25. 1. The expectation, &c Compare the *Life of Dryden*, page 89, where, speaking of Dryden's *Virgil*, Johnson says—"The expectation of this work was undoubtedly great."

6. Halifax, Charles Montague (1661-1715), who first gained a name by his share in the *Country Mouse and City Mouse*, written in conjunction with Prior to ridicule Dryden's *Hind and Panther* (1647) The influence of Lord Dorset found him a seat in Parliament: and in 1694 he rose to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which position he reformed the coinage and originated both the Bank of England and the National Debt. During the reign of Anne (1702-1714) he was out of favour, but on the accession of George I Montague was made Earl of Halifax, and First Commissioner of the Treasury. His was one of the *Lives* written by Johnson; but his

poetical name rests chiefly on his share in the parody of Dryden, and when he became prominent in politics he had the good sense to give up writing verses himself, and to seek a different kind of fame as a munificent patron of literature and art

8. Rehearsal, a private recital or performance, by way of preparation for a public one

9. The following account, preserved by Spence (page 134)

13. Congreve, William Congreve (1670-1729), the leading dramatist of that period, and editor of the plays of Dryden, who had committed the care of his poetical reputation to his "dear friend, Mr Congreve"

14. Garth, Dr. Samuel Garth (1670-1718), a prominent physician, and the author of the *Dispensary* and other poems

20 Chariot, a kind of four-wheeled carriage then in use.

24 Either, used inaccurately for *any*, since there were more than two of them.

32. Answerable for the event, I will guarantee that the result will be satisfactory

33 Waited on, called at his house

40 Securing immortality, by connecting himself with the immortal name of Pope

Advances of favour, &c, first steps in the direction of showing favour to him, and securing some advantage for him

Page 26. 1 A single letter The original of this letter, as sent to Halifax, is now in the British Museum, and has been printed by Cunningham By omitting the first sentence, Pope gave the published letter a turn quite different from the original, which had been intended to acknowledge the promise of favours, that, after all, never came

5. Out of gratitude, &c, if I trouble you at all, it will be with thanks and not with regrets

6. May cause me, &c If your patronage increases my means, I can live in London agreeably if you do not do anything for me, I shall have to continue in the country, but I shall be quite contented there

8 Easy, in comfortable circumstances

10. Divert, amuse

22 Commerce, intercourse, dealings with each other

26 Scorn and hatred "This," says Cunningham, "is overcharged That he disliked Halifax I believe, but compare Pope's posthumous praise of him in the Preface to the *Iliad*" In this passage Pope says—"The Earl of Halifax was one of the first to favour me, of whom it is hard to say whether the advancement of the polite arts is more owing to his generosity or his example" On the other hand, he satirised him under the name of Bufo, in the *Epistle to Arbuthnot*

33 Like the two rivals, &c, a reference to Lucan's description of the 29 position of Cæsar and Pompey in the Roman state before the breaking out of the Civil War —

Nec quenquam jam ferre potest Cæsare priorem,
Pompeiusve parem,

"Cæsar can no longer bear a superior, nor Pompey an equal" (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i, 125). Spence was told by Tonson that "Addison was so eager to be the *first* name that he and his friend Steele used to run down even Dryden's character as far as they could. Pope and Congreve used to support it" (Spence, 47)

37. Minutely deduced, have its successive stages traced in detail

38. A writer, *viz*, Johnson. As Homer says, in *Iliad*, ii 486: compare page 22, line 20

Page 27 4 Prologue to Cato. See page 13

5 Dialogues on Medals, a work for which Addison collected materials in Italy and elsewhere abroad, and which he began to write in 1702 In 1715 he made some preparations for publishing it, but it did not actually appear until 1721, when Pope's verses on it were also published. These are now placed amongst the *Moral Essays* as *Epistle v* (Globe edition, page 263)

7 He confessed, &c, "Addison was perfect good company with intimates, and had something more charming in his conversation than I ever knew in any other man but with any mixture of strangers, and sometimes only with one, he seemed to preserve his dignity much, with a stiff sort of silence" (Spence, 50)

19. From the emission, from the time of their issue.

20. Jervas See page 13, line 34 In this letter he says—"Mr Addison assured me that he would make use not only of his interest, but of his art, to do you some service, he did not mean his art of poetry, but his art at Court and he is sensible that nothing can have a better air for himself than moving in your favour, especially since insinuations were spread that he did not care you should prosper too much as a poet. He owns he was afraid Dr Swift might have carried you too far among the enemy, during the heat of the animosity, but now all is safe, and you are escaped, even in his opinion. . . If I have been instrumental in bringing you and Mr. Addison together, with all sincerity I value myself upon it as an acceptable piece of service to such a one as I know you to be" (Elwin, iii, 7, 8) Pope's answer is dated August 27, 1714

24. His, Swift's The subscription, for the Homer · see page 27.

26 The Tories never put him, &c., as the Whig Addison apparently wished to do

31 Animosity, angry feelings For Philips see pages 6, 13. Pope in this letter speaks of "the scandalous meanness" of his proceedings In a letter to Caryll of June 8, 1714 (Elwin, vi, 209), he explains that Philips accused him of entering into a cabal, with Swift and others, to write against the Whig interest, and in particular to undermine the reputation of Steele, Addison and Philips

In a letter to Addison, dated October 10, 1714, but probably a later fabrication, like the other pretended letters to Addison (Elwin, vi, 409) As for any deficiency in respect, Pope says rather the reverse—"I will not value myself upon having ever guarded all the degrees of respect for you; for, to say the truth, all the world speaks well of you, and I should be under a necessity of doing the same, whether I cared for you or not."

35 Kennet, White Kennet (1660-1728), Bishop of Peterborough (1718), and a Whig in politics His manuscript diary, from which the following extract is taken, is preserved in the British Museum.

38. The anti-chamber, the room outside the Queen's apartments, in which people waited to have an audience of her (now always spelt *ante-chamber*, the derivation being from the Latin *ante*, in front).

40 Master of requests, an official to whom petitions were submitted to be considered before being laid before the sovereign

Page 28 4 It is likely, &c "Johnson seems to be relating a mere piece of gossip, or hazarding an unsupported conjecture" (Ryland) In any case, the story is rejected by the latest biographers of Steele.

25 Tickell, Thomas Tickell (1686-1740), a Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, who became very intimate with Addison He contributed to the *Spectator*, and was the author of various poems which have gained him a place in Johnson's *Lives* His Homeric translation was published in June 1717, the same month as Pope's.

27 Says Pope in a letter to Craggs, of July 15, 1715 (Elwin and Courthope, x, 172), most of which, however, is probably fictitious Johnson omits most complimentary remarks about Addison, which Pope is scarcely likely to have really addressed to one of Addison's most intimate friends

31 High-flyers, a term applied to the extreme Tories, with whom Pope compares the extreme supporters of Addison Johnson's quotation is loose, the original running thus—"Let Mr Tickell be proud of the approbation of his absolute lord, I appeal to the people as my rightful judges and masters, and if they are not inclined to condemn me, I fear no arbitrary high-flying proceeding from the small court-faction at Button's "

Button's, a coffee-house frequented by Addison and the Whigs It stood opposite to Will's, which had been the headquarters of the wits in Dryden's time

33 Cragg's See note to page 19, line 6

34 He declared, &c Compare Gay's letter to Pope, July 8, 1715 (Elwin vii, 417) —"I have just set down Sir Samuel Garth at the Opera He bid me tell you that everybody is pleased with your translation, but a few at Button's, and that Sir Richard Steele told him that Mr Addison said Tickell's translation was the best that ever was in any language He treated me with extreme civility, and out of kindness gave me a squeeze by the forefinger I am informed that at Button's your character is made very free with as to morals, &c, and Mr Addison says that your translation and Tickell's are both very well done, but that the latter has more of Homer "

38 Interest, pecuniary advantage.

40 Dryden, whose translation of Book 1. of the *Iliad* appeared in the *Fables* (1700).

Maynwaring, Arthur Maynwaring or Mainwaring (1668-1712), a Whig politician, who was rewarded for his services (1705) with the post of Auditor of Imprests, worth £3,000 a year The first volume of the collected *Letters* was dedicated to him by Steele, who is said to have owed his post of "Gazetteer" to Maynwaring, and he was one of the first to discern the abilities of Walpole He was also a member of the Kit Kat Club, a society of thirty-nine distinguished noblemen and gentlemen of the

Whig party. "Manwaring," said Pope in 1730, "whom we hear nothing of now, was the ruling man in all conversations; indeed, what he wrote had very little merit in it" (Spence, 338).

Page 29 2. Tonson. See page 6, line 34. His refusal was announced by Lintot to Pope in a letter of June 22, 1715 (Elwin, ix., 541).

11. The work of Addison. This was also asserted by others, such as Cibber, and even Steele. But there is no other evidence in support of it, and such a proceeding would have been totally opposed to all that we know of Addison's candid and straightforward nature. He may, of course, have given Tickell some help, in the way of revision and correction.

16 Thus related. See Spence, page 148, and the note to line 33 below.

19 Gildon, Charles Gildon (1665-1724), a miscellaneous writer on the Whig side, who came into conflict with Pope about 1714, through his "New Rehearsal, or Bays the Younger, containing an examen of Mr Rowe's plays, and a word or two on Mr. Pope's *Rape of the Lock*." In the *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, 151-2, Pope originally wrote—

"If meagre Gildon draws his meaner quill,
I wish the man a dinner and sit still,"

but subsequently, in order to support the story given here of Gildon's taking a bribe, *meaner* was changed into *venal*. Gildon appears again in the *Dunciad*, iii, 173

Wycherley. See page 5 No such pamphlet is known, and if it had really existed it would have probably been included in the four volumes of abusive pamphlets which Pope carefully preserved and bound.

21 Lord Warwick, whose tutor Addison had been, and whose mother, the Countess-Dowager of Warwick, he married in August, 1716. In the preceding May Pope's translation had been most liberally praised by Addison in a paper written for the *Freeholder*

22. Be well with, remain on friendly terms with.

31. Allow, admit, acknowledge.

33 Satire on Addison, the celebrated lines on Atticus in the *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, 193-214. These were first printed as a "Fragment of a Satire" in 1722, when Pope was accused of writing them about his old friend after the latter's death. To clear himself from this damaging accusation Pope appears to have invented the tale here quoted from Spence, to which, in Courthope's opinion (v, 160), "no belief is to be attached."

34 Used me, treated me, behaved towards me.

35 Atterbury. See note to page 4, line 23. On February 26, 1722, he wrote to Pope (Elwin, ix, 39)—"Permit me, dear sir, to break into your retirement, and to desire of you a complete copy of these verses on Mr Addison. No small piece of your writing has been ever sought after so much. It has pleased every man without exception, to whom it has been read. Since you now therefore know where your real strength lies, I hope you will not suffer that talent to lie unemployed."

39. The subscription, namely, to the *Iliad*.

40 By choice, where and as it pleased him.

To sell their estate. This was in April, 1716, when the family moved to Chiswick, a suburb of London, on the left bank of the Thames, some way above Westminster. Here Pope's father died in October, 1717, and in 1718 the poet and his mother moved to Twickenham.

Page 30 2 Twickenham, rather higher up the Thames than Chiswick, but on the same bank

To which, &c, which the fact of his residence there rendered so celebrated

3 His father As stated above, his father had died the preceding year

4 The quincunx, an arrangement of trees by fives, so that each group of five occupies a rectangle, having one tree at each corner and one in the middle Pope refers to it in his *Imitations of Horace*, Satire 1, 130--

"Know, all the distant din that world can keep,
Rolls o'er my grotto, and but soothes my sleep
There my retreat the best companions grace,
Chiefs out of war, and statesmen out of place
There St John mingles with my friendly bowl
The feast of reason and the flow of soul,
And he, whose lightning pierced the Iberian lines,
Now forms my quincunx, and now ranks my vines "

7 Fossile bodies Minerals and shells dug out of the earth (Latin, *fossilis*, from *fodere*, to dig) appear to be meant The word is now spelt *fossil*, and restricted to the animal and vegetable remains found in rocks

Grotto, an artificial cave derived, through the Italian *grotta*, from the Latin *crypta*, a subterranean vault or passage Pope's grotto was an underground passage connecting his house and lawn by the riverside with a larger garden on the other side of the London road. It is described in a letter to Blount, June 2, 1725 (Elwin, vi, 383) — "From the river Thames you see through my arch up a walk of the wilderness, to a kind of open temple, wholly composed of shells in the rustic manner, and from that distance under the temple you look down through a sloping arcade of trees, and see the sails on the river passing suddenly and vanishing as through a perspective glass When you shut the doors of this grotto, it becomes on the instant from a luminous room a *Camera obscura* on the walls of which all the objects of the river, hills, woods, and boats are forming a moving picture in their visible radiations It is finished with shells interspersed with pieces of looking-glass in angular forms, and in the ceiling is a star of the same material, at which when a lamp, of an orbicular figure of thin alabaster, is hung in the middle, a thousand pointed rays glitter, and are reflected over the place The bottom is paved with simple pebble "

23 A perch, anything on which a bird rests

25 Quarto See note to page 14, line 34

26 Spriteliness, liveliness, vivacity The Preface is given in Elwin, i, 3

29 Waller, Edmund Waller (1605-1687), one of the best of the minor poets of his century At first a Royalist and exiled, he made his peace with Cromwell, and was subsequently a favourite with both Charles II and James II

The reference is to Waller's lines *On Roscommon's Translation of De Arte Poetica*—

"Poets lose half the praise they should have got,
Could it be known what they discreetly blot "

31. Blotted, erased, cancelled, suppressed in their writings.

33 What he had suppressed These remarks seem somewhat out of place here, since it was not Pope at all who printed the passages at first omitted (Cunningham)

36. The character, &c See note to page 1, line 11.

41. Burnet, Thomas Burnet (1694-1753), the third son of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury. He was British Consul at Lisbon, and afterwards a Judge of the Common Pleas, a position in which he enjoyed a high reputation.

Page 31. 2 Duckett George Duckett afterwards a Commissioner of Excise, assisted Burnet to write "*Homerides*, or a Letter to Mr Pope, by Sir Iliad Doggrell" (1715) Duckett was the author of other works, in some of which he seems to have collaborated with Burnet. He died in 1732.

6 In the Dunciad, where Burnet and Duckett are thus referred to (iii, 179-184) :—

"Behold you pair, in strict embraces joined,
How like in manners, and how like in mind !

Like are their merits, like rewards they share,
That shines a Consul, this Commissioner."

7 This disastrous year The South Sea Company had been formed by Harley in 1711, and though it did little in connection with the South Seas, it opened up other lines of trade, and flourished exceedingly In 1720 it took over the Government debt on certain terms which promised a rapid fortune to its shareholders, and its shares rose, until in August a £100 share was worth £1,000 In the meanwhile a mania for speculation had seized the people, and scores of other companies were floated, involving capital of an enormous nominal value But this could not last in September "the bubble burst," stocks fell rapidly, a South Sea share sank from £1,000 to £175, and thousands were ruined The South Sea Company itself was still solvent, but the public outcry compelled the Government to punish its Directors and many of those who had been concerned in the wide-spread bribery revealed by an enquiry into the Company's proceedings

8 Peru, a country on the West side of South America, from which the Spaniards formerly extracted great quantities of gold and silver.

11. Stock, the value of the shares.

12 Thousands, viz , of pounds The quotation is from *Imitations of Horace*, Satire ii , 133-4 :—

"In South-sea days not happier, when surmised
The Lord of Thousands, than if now excised "

16 Next year Really two years later, in 1722.

Dr Parnell See page 18, line 5

17 Earl of Oxford, formerly Robert Harley see page 14

21 The same year Really in 1725.

23 Annexing it, putting Pope's name to this edition

31. Theobald, Lewis Theobald (pronounced Tibbald), a minor poet whose verses were not worth much, but who was well-acquainted with Elizabethan and other dramatic literature, so that his edition of Shakespeare was a much better piece of work than Pope's He died in 1744.

33. Shakespeare Restored, or a Specimen of the many Errors committed as well as unamended by Mr Pope in his late Edition. The pamphlet was published in 1726 Theobald's edition in 1733.

38. Collators, persons who *collate* books or manuscripts, *i e.*, compare them critically with the view of arriving at the true text from the Latin *col-latio*, a bringing together, comparing

40. Miscarried, met with ill-success

Page. 32 5. His preface, given in Courthope, x , 534.

6 The character, &c This appeared in Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (Scott's *Dryden*, xv , 344), and is highly praised in the *Life of Dryden* (pages 57, 58) by Johnson, who calls it "a perpetual model of encomiastic criticism "

10 Soon after, &c The *Iliad* was completed in 1720 the proposals for the *Odyssey* are dated January 10, 1725, but the work of translation had been in progress for some time

15 Ruffhead. See page 10, line 4

Fenton and Broome See page 17. Spence (page 326) relates on the authority of "Mr Blount of Twickenham " that Fenton and Broome "had resolved on translating the *Odyssey*, Mr. Pope, hearing of it, immediately said that he would make a third," but there seems no foundation for the story.

17 Patent, apparently, the official document by which his legal copy-right was secured to him

23 Bishop Atterbury See page 4 In 1722 he was involved in a Jacobite plot against the Government of George I , for which he was arrested and brought to trial , but the evidence not being sufficient for a Court of Law, the old practice of introducing a "Bill of Pains and Penalties " was revived, and Atterbury was deprived of his bishopric and banished He crossed over to Calais, where he met his friend Lord Bolingbroke, who had been pardoned and was returning to England

25 The Popish controversy, the controversy between Protestants and Roman Catholics

26. Pope answered, in a letter dated November 20th, 1717 (Elwin, ix , 10) He first of all pleads the grief which he would cause his mother by changing his religion—" I am more certain that it is a duty of nature to preserve a good parent's life and happiness, than I am of any speculative point whatever " "Whether the change," he continues, "would be to my spiritual advantage, God only knows this I know that I mean as well in the religion I now profess as I can possibly ever do in another ... Your lordship has formerly advised me to read the best controversies between the Churches Shall I tell you a secret? I did so at fourteen years old, for I loved reading, and my father had no other books I warmed my head with them, and the consequence was that I found myself a Papist and a Protestant by turns, according to the last book I read. . . . And, after all, I verily believe your lordship and I are both of the same religion, if we were thoroughly understood by one another , and that all honest and reasonable Christians would be so, if they did but talk enough together every day, and had nothing to do together but to serve God, and live in peace with their neighbour " Pope goes on to say that even the undoubted worldly advantages to be secured by conversion were not enough to move him from his position, which was that of "a Catholic in the strictest

sense of the word, " rather than a Papist A sensible and broad-minded letter like this commends itself to modern taste more than it seems to have done to Dr. Johnson.

32 Several blunders, through nervousness. " When I was to appear for the Bishop of Rochester in his trial, though I had but ten words to say, and that on a plain point (how that bishop spent his time whilst I was with him at Bromley), I made two or three blunders in it, and that notwithstanding the first row of lords (which was all I could see) were mostly of my acquaintance" (Spence, 156).

34 Says he, in a letter of April 20, 1723 (Elwin, ix, 56). Johnson's quotation is, as usual, not verbally exact

36 The Tower, the Tower of London, in which it was usual to confine political prisoners of importance.

37 Only twelve books, namely, iii, v, vii, ix, x, xiii-xv, xvii, xxi, xxii, xxiv Broome did ii, vi, viii, xi, xii, xvi, xviii, xxiii, ; and Fenton, i, iv, xix, xx.

39 Not over-liberally rewarded For translating eight books and writing all the notes Broome received £570. Fenton appears to have received £200 Pope had received in all £4,500 " On the other hand, it is to be remembered that the design was all his own, that its attractiveness depended entirely on the prestige of his name, that the great bulk of the subscribers had been obtained by the exertions of himself and his agents He had warned his partners from the first that he expected them to perform cheap service" (Courthope, v., 204)

40 Shares, in the work of translation

An account, etc So great was Pope's influence over Broome that the latter was induced to sign a note in which he said—"If my performance has merit either in these notes or in any part of the translation, *namely, the sixth, eleventh, and eighteenth books*, it is but just to attribute it to the judgment and care of Mr Pope, by whose hand every sheet was corrected His other, and much more able assistant, was Mr. Fenton in the *fourth and twentieth books*" Broome was thus induced to state what was equivalent to a falsehood, and to involve Fenton in the fraud, without the latter's knowledge : for, of course, the inference intended to be drawn was that Pope had translated the remaining 19 books, of which five more really belonged to Broome, and two to Fenton

Page 33. 1. The first copy, the original manuscript.

5 The books of Fenton According to Cunningham, only three of them are in the Museum, and one of these is free from all interlineations.

9. Lintot See page 15, line 6.

18 Chancery, then the highest court of law in England after Parliament, the Court of Chancery is now one branch of the High Court of Judicature, and deals with cases of Equity as opposed to Common Law The reason of Lintot's dissatisfaction was not quite what Johnson represents it to have been, see Courthope, v, 201-2

19 Spence, Joseph Spence (1699-1768), of New College, Oxford, for a time Professor of Poetry in that University, and afterwards (1742) Regius Professor of Modern History His Essay on Pope's *Odyssey* was published in 1726, before he became Professor of Poetry. But his best known work is the collection of "Anecdotes, Observations and Characters, of Books and Men, Collected from the Conversation of Mr. Pope, and other

Eminent Persons of his Time," first published in 1820, though the manuscript was placed at Johnson's disposal by its owner, the Duke of Newcastle

20 Prelector, the Latin *praelector*, a public reader, or lecturer.

' 32. Preferments, offices of honour and profit.

34 Pope was returning, &c This was in September, 1726 Pope was returning from Lord Bolingbroke's house at Dawley, near Uxbridge, when "a bridge was down, the coach forced to go through the water, the bank steep, a hole on one side, a block of timber on the other, the night as dark as pitch. In short, he overturned the fall was broke by the water, but the glasses were up, and he might have been drowned, if one of my men had not broke a glass, and pulled him out through the window His right hand was severely cut" (Bolingbroke to Swift, September 22nd, 1726 Scott's *Swift*, xvii, 64) Gay had written to Swift on the 16th (Scott, xvii, 60), and mentioned that Pope was "up to the knots of his periwig in water He was afraid he should have lost the use of his little finger and the next to it, but the surgeon from London told him that his fingers were safe, that there were two nerves cut, but no tendon" As late as the following March 8th, Pope wrote to Swift (Scott, xvii, 99) that his hand was frequently "in very awkward sensations, rather than pain"

37 Postilion, a man who rides one of a pair of horses harnessed to a carriage, and guides the other Where four or more horses were employed, it was usual to have a postilion at any rate for the pair in front, if not for each pair

40 Voltaire, François Marie Arouet, who afterwards added De Voltaire to his name, a celebrated French author, and free-thinker (1694-1778) After being twice confined in the Bastille at Paris, he spent three years in England (1726-1729), a visit which had the greatest effect on the development of his literary faculty Voltaire subsequently paid a long visit (1751-1753) to the Prussian king, Frederick the Great, whose quarrel with him has been made famous by Macaulay and Carlyle

His letter to Pope is dated from Bolingbroke's house, November 16th, 1726 (Courthope, x, 132)

' Page 34 1 Mrs. Pope, the poet's mother

5 Miscellanies, in Prose and Verse Arbuthnot and Gay also contributed to them

6 Memours, &c "Memories of P P, Clerk of this Parish" (Elwin, x, 435) This paper (though Pope, as usual, denied it) was undoubtedly intended to caricature the egotism, self-importance and gossiping style, of Bishop Burnet of Salisbury, in his *History of My Own Time*, published in 1724

7 Debates, &c This is called "A Specimen of Scriblerus's Reports—Stradling *versus* Stiles" (Elwin x, 430), and professes to be a report of a legal case arising out of the will of one Sir John Swale, who bequeathed to his "much honoured and good friend Mr Matthew Stradling, Gent." all his black and white horses But "the testator had six black horses, six white horses, and six pyed [black-and-white] horses The debate therefore was whether or no the said Matthew Stradling should have the said pyed horses by virtue of the said bequest" The question is argued in ridiculous manner, and at last the Court gives judgment in favour of the plaintiff Stradling, whereupon, "Motion in arrest of judgment, that the pyed horses were mares, and thereupon an inspection was prayed."

9. Process, the proceedings in a legal suit.

Mr Fortescue, William Fortescue (1687-1749), an intimate friend of Gay, and through him of Pope. He entered Parliament in 1727 as a supporter of Walpole, and was raised to the Bench in 1736, and to the Mastership of the Rolls in 1741. Pope's *Imitation of Horace*, Satire i., is addressed to Fortescue.

10 Master of the Rolls, technically, the keeper of public records. In England the office is held by one of the Judges of the High Court, who is also President of the Court of Appeal.

14 Cabinets, private rooms, such as an author would naturally do his work in. The meaning of *closets* is similar.

15 Ransacked, thoroughly searched for plunder. *Runsack* is a word of Scandinavian origin, from *rann*, a house, and a verb akin to our *seek*.

18 Epigrams, short poems dealing with a single subject, and usually in a pointed and striking manner.

19 Musk, a strongly-scented substance obtained from a small gland in the musk-deer, but the name is also applied to similar substances obtained from other animals, such as the *crvet-cat*, a small carnivorous animal found in northern Africa and in parts of Asia.

20. Winded, scented. They have got his *wind*, or scent, and so pursue him to his hiding-place in his cabinet.

21. Attestation, testimony or evidence in support of it.

The same year. The preface referred to above is dated, May 27th 1727, though it was only published in 1728 in the last volume of the *Miscellanies*. whereas the letters now to be mentioned were published in 1726, though dated 1727.

22 Mr Cromwell, &c. See pages 5, 6. These letters were given by Cromwell to his mistress, Elizabeth Thomas, who sold them to Curll, the publisher, for ten guineas. Pope professed to be ashamed of them as "very trivial things," but it was probably their favourable reception which made him desire to give further specimens to the public, and thus led him into a long series of falsehoods and frauds, which have been fully exposed by Mr Elwin, Leslie Stephen, &c.

24 The Art of Sinking, Martinus Scriblerus *peri bathos*, or Of the Art of Sinking Poetry. *bathos* being the Greek word expressing the opposite quality to sublimity (Elwin, *x*, 344). In the sixth chapter of this satire Pope arranges the inferior writers and dunces in nine classes, called Flying-fishes, Swallows, Ostriches, Parrots, Didappers, Porpoises, Frogs, Eels, and Tortoises, and of each class he gives examples by means of initial letters, which he afterwards declared were introduced at random, but almost all of which can be identified. The chapter consequently gave great offence.

26 Pope's account. See the next page.

28 Atterbury's advice. See page 29, line 35.

29. The Dunciad, published on May 28, 1728.

36 Happily, successfully. In the *Dunciad*, i, 133, Pope says:--

"There hapless Shakespeare, yet of Tibbald sore,
Wished he had blotted for himself before,"

and adds in a note that Theobald was so proud of his edition of Shakespeare as to say, in print, that "to expose any errors in it was impracticable."

38 Ralph, James Ralph, an American who came to England, and was so successful as a party-writer as to gain a pension of £600 a year. He died in 1762. Ralph is mentioned in the *Dunciad*, i, 216, and again in iii., 165—

"Silence, ye wolves! while Ralph to Cynthia howls,
And makes night hideous—Answer him, ye owls!"

—in allusion to his poem on *Night*. Pope explains in a note that Ralph's name was not inserted until after the first editions, because "he was not known to our author till he writ a swearing-piece called *Sawney*," very abusive of Swift, Gay, and Pope.

Page 35 1 The prevalence, the mode in which it made its way to popularity, in spite of all obstacles. Compare a somewhat similar expression in the *Life of Milton*, page 41—"The sale of 1,300 copies in two years... was an uncommon example of the prevalence of genius."

15 Had, would have

19 A Dedication &c In 1732 Savage (see page 12, line 23) published a volume containing the various pieces, prose and verse, written on Pope's side against the Dunces, and dedicated it to the Earl of Middlesex, with a Preface which was almost certainly Pope's work, since a great part of it had already appeared in Pope's notes to the preface of the first edition of the *Dunciad*.

28 Almost all the letters, i e., the poets were denoted by initial letters only. Some of these may have been put down at random, but most of them can be identified thus, C C for Colley Cbber, J D for John Dennis, L T for Lewis Theobald, A P for Ambrose Philips, &c.

34 Scurrilities, grossly abusive language from the Latin *scurra*, a vulgar buffoon.

37. Aspersed, literally, besprinkled, namely, with false and slanderous accusations.

Page 36 5 Find their account, &c., find it profitable to employ them.

6 Want courage, would be without the necessary courage

11 St. James's, a royal palace in London

12. The King and Queen, George II and Queen Caroline

13 Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), one of the most famous of English statesmen, and a firm believer in the doctrine that "every man has his price," which he carried out systematically into practice during the long period during which he governed England (1715-1717 and 1721-1742). He retired from office as Earl of Orford in 1742, and died in 1745.

14 Impression, edition, the whole number of copies printed. This passage conveys the idea that the poem was published in March, 1729, but the first known edition appeared in May, 1728, though Pope elsewhere pretends that there were several editions in 1727.

19 Vended, offered for sale. from the Latin *vendere*, to sell

20 Law, legal prosecutions. Battery, the legal term for beating or in any way assaulting a person.

22. Hawkers, those who carry goods through the streets, or from town to town, for sale.

30 In effigy To burn, or hang, a person *in effigy* is to burn or hang an image of him (Latin, *effigies*, an image or representation), by way of showing hatred or contempt.

32 Some false editions, &c The edition, or editions, of 1728 had the owl on a pile of books the edition of 1729 with notes, &c, being the first acknowledged by Pope (though the alleged false editions were issued from the same office), had an ass laden with books, on the top of which an owl is perched The succeeding editions for the most part had the Ass, though some specimens present the Owl : see Elwin's list, iv, 299. *seq.*

34 Authors, i e, books Amongst these are Theobald's *Shakespeare Restored* and *Plays*, Ogilby, Dennis' *Works*; Cibber's *Plays*; Ward's *Works*, &c The two plates are given in facsimile by Elwin, iv

35 In Octavo See note to page 15, line 30

Page 37. 3 Sensibility, sensitiveness to pain, such as that caused by "reproaches and invectives "

18 Diverting, amusing

21 Decypher (now spelt *decipher*), to make out the meaning of something which at first sight appears unintelligible

23 Shafts, arrows.

24 Shot into the air, without producing any visible effect. When they knew the persons aimed at, they could study the effect produced

27. Published remarks, in 1728 Compare page 12, line 10

30 Ducket, &c See the passage (*Dunciad*, iii, 179-184) quoted in the note to page 31, line 2 As the passage stands now, neither *pious passion* nor *cordial friendship* occurs Cunningham, indeed, remarks that he has been unable to find the latter phrase in any edition, though *pious passion* was retained (with an explanatory note) in the edition of 1736

32. Cudgel, a heavy stick

36 Aaron Hill (1685-1750), the author of a number of poems and dramas, though now scarcely remembered except for his relations with Pope, whom he attacked in the preface to a poem called *The Northern Star* (1718) But the attack was founded on a misrepresentation which Pope explained, and Hill apologised in the preface to *The Creation*, 1720, though he subsequently made further uncomplimentary references to Pope The latter, in chapter vi of the *Art of Sinking*, gave A H as an example of the Flying-fishes, "writers who now and then rise upon their fins, and fly out of the profound, but their wings are soon dry, and they drop down to the bottom " Hill took this to himself, and proceeded to satirise Pope and Swift Accordingly, in the *Dunciad* (ii, 295) he is made to take part in the diving-match, in the mud of the Fleet-ditch —

"H—tried the next, but hardly snatched from sight,
Instant buoys up, and rises into light;
He bears no token of the sabler streams,
And mounts far off, among the swans of Thames."

Though this was more complimentary than otherwise, Hill complained of it and of a note subsequently appended by Pope, who proceeded to shuffle in his usual manner, denying that the note was by him, or that A. H stood for Hill in the *Bathos*.

38 Sneak, literally, to creep about like a person afraid or ashamed to be seen Shuffle, to change one's ground, to equivocate and avoid giving a direct answer

Page 38 2 Arbuthnot, John Arbuthnot (1667-1735), a physician, and one of the leading "wits" of his day "He hath," said Swift, "every quality in the world that can make a man amiable and useful " Arbuthnot was the author of a number of extremely clever satires, such as the *Art of Political Lying*, the *History of John Bull*, and the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*

3 Cleland, William Cleland, a Scotchman, educated at the Dutch University of Utrecht He was made a commissioner of Customs in Scotland, and then of Taxes in England, and died in 1741 Pope calls him "a person of universal learning, and an enlarged conversation " His letter is dated December 22nd, 1728, and headed—"A Letter to the Publisher, occasioned by the First Correct Edition of the *Dunciad* " (Globe edition, page 355)

7 Poem on Taste This now forms *Epistle iv* amongst the *Moral Essays* (Globe edition, page 256) . it was published on December 31st, 1731

9 Timon See lines 98-176

11 Earl of Burlington, Richard Boyle (1695-1753), third Earl of Burlington, and fourth Earl of Cork He took little part in politics, but was distinguished for his architectural tastes , and was a generous patron of Gay, Bishop Berkeley, Handel the musician, and others

12 The Duke of Chandos, James Brydges (1673-1744), first Duke of Chandos He seems to have made an enormous fortune out of the office of Pay-master of the Forces, and built himself a magnificent palace, which was pulled down after his death, at Canons, near Edgware Courthope (iii , 164) comes to the conclusion that Pope's object was to represent the ideal man of false magnificence , but wishing to make his creation appear as real as possible, he coloured it with actual experiences collected from many different quarters , some of these details were borrowed from Canons, and it was these that arrested the attention of a public which was bent on finding a single portrait in what was really an ideal representation

18 A thousand pounds The sum alleged to have been received by him was £500

19 Gained the opportunity, &c It was the Duke's kind invitation to Canons which enabled Pope to see the splendours satirised by him.

21 Publicly denied, in a letter to Burlington, prefixed to the third edition of this poem

24 An apology, in the shape of a letter to Gay, dated December 16th, 1731, which there is no doubt that Pope composed "Nearly the whole of Pope's tortuous defence is irrelevant He admits that it would have been unbecoming in him to have designed the character of Timon for the Duke of Chandos, and he had simply to say whether the Duke was meant or not " (Elwin, vii , 446)

25 Temerity, rashness

29 Professions, declarations

31. Had been, would have been . and so again in the next line but one Compare Spence, 145 — "The Duke in his answer said he took the application that had been made of the character of *Timon*

as a sign of the malice of the town against himself, and seemed very well satisfied that it was not meant for him" In a letter to Lord Oxford, January 22, 1732 (Elwin, viii, 293) Pope says—"The comfort is that his Grace from the first assured me of his opinion of my innocence, and confirmed it in the strongest as well as most humane terms by letter to me." It is evident that Pope's summary of the letter does not agree with that of Johnson, who appears to have seen it, though it is no longer in existence. and, if it was such a complete acquittal of Pope as the latter alleges, we may ask why he did not print it, as the most conclusive answer to the outcry against him

34 In one of his letters, that to Lord Burlington, March 7th, 1732, already referred to above

35 Owns, admits

40 The bridge. London Bridge seems to be meant.

Juvenal, the great Roman satirist of the latter part of the 1st century, A D The quotation is from *Satire* iv, 70, where, speaking of the way in which the emperor was flattered, Juvenal says—

Nihil est quod credere de se
Non possit, cum laudatur dis aequa potestas,

"there is nothing which power cannot believe about itself, when it is praised as being godlike"

Page 39 5 Gay, John Gay (1685-1732), poet and dramatist He seems to have made the acquaintance of Pope and Swift about 1711, and soon became a great favourite with both of them, though he led a lazy and extravagant kind of life His best known works are the *Fables* (1727) and the *Beggar's Opera* (1728) He died after three days' illness, December 4th, 1732.

8 Admit new confidence, admit new persons to confidential intercourse

11. In the next year, June 7th, 1733

13 Filial piety, affectionate devotion to his parents, a sense in which the Latin *pictas* is often used

22 A publication of letters, in May, 1735

25 Letters from noblemen This would have been an infringement of a standing order of the House of Lords, which declared the publication of peers' letters without their consent a breach of privilege, and on this ground Pope got Curll summoned before the House, but nothing objectionable being found in the books seized, the publisher was released The curious thing was that the copies first sold by Curll did contain certain passages which were found to have been omitted from the copies seized at his house by the officials of the House of Lords as the books had been sent to him ready printed, such a device could only have originated with some person who knew of the coming prosecution, and who wanted it to be a sham, in other words, it must have been a device of Pope's, in order to excite curiosity about his letters

28 The bar, a railing across one end of the chamber, where any one summoned before the House has to take his stand

30 Knack is used of special skill in some particular class of work, such as may be acquired by frequent practice.

35 Band, two strips of linen hanging down in front of the neck, and forming part of the clerical and legal full dress.

Page 40 r Lintot See note to page 15, line 6

14 The impression, the printing of an edition The number of copies printed was not large enough to repay the author

15 It sees that Pope, &c The theory here stated by Johnson is now universally admitted

27 Mr Allen, Ralph Allen (1694-1764), who, as deputy post-master at Bath, devised a system of cross-posts for England and Wales, by which letters could be sent directly from one large town to another, instead of going round by London From this he derived an average yearly profit of £12,000 for forty-four years His munificence was celebrated, and he was intimate with Fielding the novelist, Pope, Pitt, and many others to whom he dispensed hospitality at Bath Pope's acquaintance he made in 1736

34 In the preface, &c After the publication of the Cromwell letters (See page 74), Pope set to work to recover as many of his letters as possible from his correspondents, and according to his own account burnt three-quarters of them Of the rest he had a copy taken, which he deposited with the second Earl of Oxford, about October, 1729, and a little later, having printed his correspondence with Wycherley, he endeavoured to get the Earl to allow it to be said that the *book-sellers* had got hold of some of the originals in his library, and printed them without Pope's knowledge or consent "In other words, his lordship was asserted to have permitted the book-seller to print the papers in his library, when they were not even sent to his house till after they were printed, and this fiction was fathered on him without so much as his leave being asked, or his having been suffered to read a single line of the work he was stated to have authorised" (Elwin, i, xxxii) In Lord Oxford's library the letters remained until March, 1735, when Pope sent for them "to inspect them for a day or two" They never seem to have been returned, and in May the printed sheets were submitted to Curll, as related in the text, the probability being that Pope had them printed from the carefully revised copy he had recovered from Oxford For the Preface to the 1737 edition, see Elwin, vi, xxxvii

Reposited, deposited a rare word already used on page 19

38 The preface to Swift and Pope's Miscellanies, dated May 27th, 1727 See page 34

40 James Worsdale (died 1767) a pupil of the great painter, Sir Godfrey Kneller Horace Walpole tells us that Worsdale married Kneller's niece without his consent, and so was dismissed, but "on the reputation of that education, by his singing, excellent mimicry, and facetious spirit, he gained many patrons and business"

Page 41 9 Never became much, &c This does not seem altogether consistent with page 40, lines 21-23

16 Howel, James Howell, a great traveller, who entered Parliament in 1642 For some years he was imprisoned by the Parliament, but at the Restoration was made Historiographer-Royal He died in 1666 Of his numerous writings the best-known are the "*Epistolae Ho-eliae*, or Familiar Letters, Domestic and Foreign"

18 Morhoff, Daniel George Morhoff (1639-1691) Professor of Poetry at the German University of Kiel He twice visited England

19 Loveday Robert Loveday, the translator of the French romance of *Cleopatra* After his death, his brother published a selection from his

correspondence, called "Loveday's Letters, Domestic and Forrein, to several persons," in imitation of Howell's Letters This was in 1659, and the work was reprinted in 1662, 1669, and 1673, so that Johnson's remark is not distinguished by its accuracy

20 Herbert Probably George Herbert, the poet (1593-1633), is meant, as some of his letters from Cambridge were published in 1670 by Izaak Walton, together with a memoir of his life Some of the correspondence of his elder brother Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648), has also been published, but only quite recently.

Suckling, Sir John Suckling (1609-1641), the author of various poems and plays, and of *Letters to several Persons of Honour*, published in 1659.

Mrs Philips, Katherine Philips (1631-1664), the daughter of a London merchant named Fowler, and wife of James Philips, a Cardigan gentleman. Early in life she devoted herself to writing verses, the first of which appeared in 1651, and she gathered round her a circle of friends, who assumed various fanciful names Thus her husband was "Autenor," whilst Mrs Philips called herself "Orinda," and by the name of "the matchless Orinda" she became widely known The *Letters of Orinda to Poliarchus* (Sir Charles Cotterel) appeared in 1705

21. Walsh See page 6, line 3

27 Had the power, &c, by altering the correspondence so as to throw the most favourable light upon his character This we know that he did on a very extensive scale

32 One long letter Perhaps that of February 18th, 1724 (Elwin, vii, 393), is meant, a lengthy epistle discussing various literary and philosophical topics.

Page 42 1 Essay on Man, in four poetical Epistles (Globe edition, page 189).

2 The commentator, Warburton (see page 9, line 12) In this letter Elwin, vii, 50) Pope says to Swift—"Your Travels [*i e*, *Gulliver*] I hear much of my own, I promise you, shall never more be in a strange land, but a diligent, I hope useful, investigation of my own territories" This is explained by Warburton as a reference to the *Essay on Man*

5 Smarting, suffering acute pains

6 Arrogated, claimed for himself, in a haughty and overbearing manner

9 His friend, Lord Bolingbroke

12 Says Warburton, in a note to line 282 of the *Epistle to Arbuthnot* Pope had employed a new publisher for this work, while still issuing other pieces through his former publishers, and this had helped to puzzle the public

25 In 1733 The first three parts appeared in the course of this year, the fourth in the following January

36 His friend, Bolingbroke, who is addressed in the first line The passage quoted forms lines 5, 6

37 Expatriate, wander without restraint

38 Maze, an intricate and puzzling network of paths

Page 43 3 These lines, 293-4, the concluding lines of Epistle 1.

15 In the conclusion, &c See Epistle iv., 373-398.—

"Come then, my Friend ! may Genius ! come along,
O master of the poet and the song !

Shall then this verse to future age pretend
Thou wert my guide, philosopher, and friend ?
That, urged by thee, I turned the tuneful art
From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart," &c

22 Has been reported, as by Lord Bathurst, a Tory peer, who survived all his contemporaries of the Age of Anne, and died in 1775, at the age of 91 Bathurst's words are reported both by Joseph Warton in his *Essay on Pope*, and by Dr Hugh Blair, who dined with Bathurst in 1763, and wrote an account of the conversation to Boswell, who in turn reported it to Johnson

28 Dogmatism, the stating of an opinion in a positive and authoritative manner, without regard to the evidence for it, or any discussion of its truth

29 Philosophy and poetry, &c Pope's poem would naturally be first read by lovers of poetry, who had not enough knowledge of philosophy to check his arguments

38 Resnel See note to page 9, line 11

39 Crousaz, Jean Pierre de Crousaz (1663-1748), who at different times held Professorships of Greek, Hebrew, Mathematics, and Philosophy, in the Universities of Berne, Lausanne, and Groningen He published his *Examen de l'Essai sur l'Homme* (Examination of the *Essay on Man*) in 1737, and in the next year a *Commentaire sur la traduction de M l'Abbe du Resnel de l'essai de M Pope* (Commentary on the Abbé Resnel's translation of Mr Pope's *Essay*) Johnson took a good deal of interest in the translation of these two works into English, and in 1743 wrote an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, upholding the views of Crousaz

Page 44 4 Examen de Pyrrhonisme, "Examination of Pyrrhonism," i e , the philosophy of Pyrrho, who founded a school of Sceptics in Greece about 400 B C

11 Metaphysical systems, those which are based simply on reasoning and philosophy, as opposed to those which accept a Divine Revelation as their starting-point

14 Natural religion, religion based on the evidence for the existence and attributes of a Deity to be derived from a study of Nature . opposed to revealed religion

16 Concatenation See note to page 9, line 24.

19 Liberty, viz , of the will, freedom of choice in action, as opposed to the "fatality" just spoken of

20 Warburton See note to page 9, line 12

24 Perspicacity, acuteness of intellect, powers of clear discernment to be distinguished from *perspicuity*, the quality of being easily and clearly understood

25 Fraught, loaded, filled the past participle of an obsolete verb *to fraught*, for which we now use *to freight*

34 The cause, used in its legal sense of the case, or side of the question, supported by the advocate

35 Oderint dum metuant, "let them hate, provided that they fear " The phrase is quoted by Cicero (*De Officiis*, 1, 28,97) from the old Latin

dramatist, Accius ; and Suetonius tells us that the emperor Caligula used to employ it (Suet, *Cal* 3)

Page 45 3 A letter was produced "This remarkable letter," says Cunningham, "was first printed in Malone's *Supplement to Shakespeare*, but was first referred to in print by Akenside in a note to his *Ode to Thomas Edwards, Esq*, on the late edition of *Mr Pope's Works*, 1751" It is dated January 2nd, 1727, and was discovered by a British Museum librarian in 1750

4. Concanen, Matthew Concanen (1701-1749), an Irishman, the author of miscellaneous poems and other writings, chiefly hackwork Warburton made his acquaintance and that of Theobald in 1726 After the appearance of the *Dunciad*, Concanen wrote in defence of Theobald, and against Pope and Swift, whereupon his name was introduced into the account of the diving competition (ii, 299-300)—

"True to the bottom see Concanen creep,
A cold long-winded native of the deep."

6 When Theobald, &c. In 1733 see page 31.

12 Artifice of offence, every means by which he might be attacked

16 Nice, scrupulous, fastidious

23 The Republic of Letters "The Present State of the Republic of Letters" was a journal published weekly from 1728 to 1736, when it was succeeded by the "History of the Works of the Learned, giving a General View of the State of Learning throughout Europe" This appeared from 1737 to the end of 1743, and it was in this journal that Warburton's essays were printed, in the course of 1739 and 1740 They were published in book form in the latter year

28. Gratuitous, because unsolicited and unpaid

30 March 24, 1743, an impossible date (see the last note but one) In Elwin (ix, 203) the letter is dated April 11, and the year 1739 is assigned to it

32. Mr R., Mr. Robinson, a bookseller.

38 So odd as. We should now omit the *so*

Page 46 1 When it is glorified. This refers to the doctrine of the Resurrection of the body, as taught, e.g., by St Paul, in his *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, xv., 43,44—"It is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory. It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body" Warton quotes Cowley (*To Sir William Davenant*)—

"So will our God re-build man's perished frame,
And raise him up much better, *yet the same*."

18 Discovered, disclosed

Mr Hooke, Nathaniel Hooke, a Roman Catholic friend of Pope, who had perhaps been at school with him at Twyford He assisted the Duchess of Marlborough to prepare her memoirs for publication (1742), and was the author of a Roman History, and other works.

Spence (page 369) tells us, on Warburton's authority, that "Pope was much shocked at overhearing Warburton and Hooke talking of Lord Bolingbroke's disbelief of the moral attributes of God 'You must be mistaken,' said he. Pope afterwards talked with Lord B. about it, and he denied it all"

25 Aversion, dislike Cunningham quotes a letter in which Warburton informs Hurd (December 29th, 1751), that Bolingbroke's aversion to him was caused by a paper of remarks which Warburton drew up (at Pope's request) on a dissertation against the Canon of Scripture, contained in Bolingbroke's "Letters concerning the use of reading History,"

28 Mr Murray, William Murray, the lawyer, afterwards Earl of Mansfield see page 13, line 38

29 Lincoln's Inn, one of the four Inns of Court, or societies of barristers which have the sole right of admitting persons to practise at the English Bar

Mr Allen See page 40, line 27

30. By consequence, &c Allen was very intimate with Pitt, the statesman, and in this way Warburton came to receive the bishopric of Gloucester

He, Pope Him, Warburton

34 Dobson, William Dobson, a man who had gained a reputation as a classical scholar Spence gives the following account of this transaction — "About this time (1736) Lord Oxford was very desirous of having the *Essay on Man* translated into Latin verse On my mentioning some of the difficulties which would attend this, Mr Pope said, If any man living could do it, Dobson could And by his desire I engaged that gentleman to undertake it Lord Oxford was to give him a hundred guineas for it He began upon it, and I think translated all the first epistle what I showed of it to Lord Oxford and Mr Pope was very well approved of It was then that Mr Benson offered to give the same gentleman a thousand pounds if he would translate Milton's *Paradise Lost* He told me of that offer, as inclined to close with it if he could, and on my mentioning it to Lord Oxford and Mr Pope, they readily released him from his first engagement" (Spence, 179)

35 Prior See page 12, line 23 His most serious and ambitious poem was *Solomon* (published in 1718), which has been generally condemned for its heaviness

38 Benson, William Benson (1682-1754), a Whig politician, and critic He was a generous patron of literature, and an especial admirer of Virgil and Milton, to the latter of whom he erected a monument in Westminster Abbey This afforded an opportunity for Pope's sneer in the *Dunciad* (iii, 325)—"On poets' tombs see Benson's titles writ" Benson held the post of Surveyor of Buildings to the King

Page 47 1 Among the great From Pope's *Imitations of Horace*, Satire 1, 133 —

"Envy must own I live among the great,
No pimp of pleasure, and no spy of state"

4 Walpole, &c Pope speaks well of him in the *Epilogue to the Satires*, Dialogue 1, 29-32 —

"Seen him I have, but in his happier hour
Of social pleasure, ill exchanged for power,
Seen him, uncumbered with the venal tribe,
Smile without art, and win without a bribe."

6 Mr Southcot, a member of an old Catholic family, living near Abingdon "Pope's perpetual application reduced him in four years' time to so bad a state of health, that, after trying physicians for a good

while in vain, he resolved to give way to his distemper, and sat down calmly, in a full expectation of death in a short time Under this thought he wrote letters to take a last farewell of some of his more particular friends, and among the rest, one to the Abbé Southcote. The Abbé was extremely concerned, both for his very ill state of health, and the resolution he said he had taken He thought there might yet be hopes, and went immediately to Dr Radcliffe, told him Mr Pope's case, got full directions from him, and carried them down to Mr Pope in Windsor Forest. The chief thing the doctor ordered him was to apply less and to ride every day, the following his advice soon restored him to his health It was about twenty years after this that Mr Pope heard of an Abbey's being like to be vacant in the most delightful part of France, near Avignon He sent a letter the next morning to Sir Robert Walpole, and begged him to write a letter to Cardinal Fleury to get the Abbey for Southcote The affair met with some delay, but succeeded at last" (Spence, 7, 8)

7 Obligated, under an obligation

8. Interest, influence.

10 At Richmond, on the river Thames, and on the outskirts of London, this seems to have been about 1729. Queen Caroline was the wife of George II

12 Effusion, literally, an out-pouring (of words)

14 Savage See note to page 12, line 23

18 Refusing the visits, &c From Swift's *Letter on Dr. Delany*, 1729 —

"Hail, happy Pope ! whose generous mind,
Detesting all the statesman kind,
Contemning Courts, at Courts unseen,
Refused the visits of a Queen "

24. Lord Bathurst, Allen, first Earl Bathurst (1684-1775) see note to page 43, line 22 He was one of the most intimate of Pope's friends and corresponded with Swift, Congreve, Prior, Sterne, &c.

This Epistle now forms *Epistle* III of the *Moral Essays* (Globe edition, page 244). it was published in January, 1733

25 He declared, &c "The Epistle on *The Use of Riches* was as much laboured as any one of my works" (Spence, 304)

28 Kyrle, John Kyrle (1637-1724), of Ross in Herefordshire His good works are described in lines 249-290 —

"But all our praises why should Lords engross ?
Rise, honest Muse, and sing the Man of Ross
* * * * *

Of debts and taxes, wife and children clear,
This man possessed—five hundred pounds a year," &c

37 Mr Victor, Benjamin Victor, a dramatist, and author of a *History of the Theatres of London and Dublin* published about 1771.

38 Minister, clergyman

41 Unattainable, because Kyrle's good deeds were not all done out of £500 a year, this sum was largely supplemented by the contributions of his wealthy neighbours

Page 48 2 Burning the Pope, namely, in effigy. a ceremony frequently performed by the ultra-Protestants of London. It was on one such occasion that Elkanah Settle, Dryden's antagonist, earned special notoriety Pope's reference is in lines 213-4 .—

"To town he comes, completes the nation's hope,
And heads the bold Train-bands, and burns a Pope "

3 The Monument, on Fish-street Hill, in the City of London, built in memory of the Fire of London of 1666 An inscription on it attributed the fire to "the treachery and malice" of the Papists Hence Pope writes (lines 339-40) —

' Where London's column, pointing at the skies,
Like a tall bully, lifts the head, *and lies* "

This inscription was removed by James II, restored under William III, and finally erased in the reign of William IV

5 Letters of direction Subsequently the speeches of the two parties to the dialogue were distinguished by the letters *P.* (Pope) and *B.* (Bathurst)

7 Bathurst is introduced. He is said to have "repeatedly expressed his disgust and his surprise at finding in later editions this Epistle awkwardly converted into a Dialogue, in which he has but little to say" (Warton's *Life of Pope*, quoted by Cunningham).

8 Lord Cobham, Sir Richard Temple (died 1749), created Viscount Cobham in 1718, and made a Field-Marshal in 1742 He was on intimate terms with Pope during the latter part of the poet's life The poem addressed to him now forms *Epistle 1* of the *Moral Essays* (Globe edition, page 228) it was published in February 1733, not 1734

11 The Ruling Passion See lines 174-265 —

" Search then the Ruling Passion there alone
The wild are constant, and the cunning known,
The fool consistent, and the false sincere,
Priests, Princes, Women, no dissemblers here
* * * * *

And you, brave Cobham, to the latest breath
Shall feel your ruling passion strong in death
Such in those moments as in all the past,
' Oh save my country, Heaven' shall be your last "

16. Propension, tendency or inclination. the form *propensity* is commoner

24 Ascendant planet, one which was rising above the horizon at the moment of the person's birth, and which was supposed by astrologers to exercise a commanding influence over his life and character

Predominating humour This refers to the old medical theory of the four "humours," or principal fluids in the body, *viz.*, blood, phlegm, bile, and black bile, the predominance of one or other of which determined the man's temperament thus the four chief temperaments were the sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholic

26 Some accident, &c Similarly, at the beginning of his *Life of Cowley*, Johnson says—"The true genius is a mind of large general powers, accidentally determined to some particular direction," and instances Cowley and Sir Joshua Reynolds, the painter

28 Independent on We now say *independent of*, or *not dependent on* If the desire, says Johnson, is natural and prior to experience, then its object must be natural, and not an artificial human contrivance, such as money

30 Acceptation, the meaning in which a term is to be accepted, or understood

33 Contradistinguished, distinguished by the marked contrast between their respective attributes.

38. Predestination, the determining of certain events beforehand, so as to leave the man no free choice in the matter.

Page 49 6. Soon after, in 1735 This poem is *Epistle 11* of the *Moral Essays* (Globe edition, page 236) it was apparently completed as early as February, 1733, when we find Pope writing to Swift—"Your lady friend [Martha Blount] is *semper eadem* [always the same], and I have written an epistle to her on that qualification in a female character; which is thought by my chief critic in your absence [Bolingbroke] to be my master-piece but it cannot be printed perfectly in an age so sore of satire, and so willing to misapply characters" (Elwin, vii, 298)

7 Martha Blount. Martha and her sister Teresa belonged to a Roman Catholic family with which Pope had probably been acquainted from his boyhood Their intimacy, however, began after the publication of the *Essay on Criticism* (1711), and after 1714 letters between them become frequent. About 1717 Pope seems even to have thought of offering marriage to Martha Blount, though he had a violent quarrel with her sister. see Courthope, v, 141, *seq* The Blounts subsequently settled at Twickenham, and Martha used to visit at various houses in Pope's company, a proceeding which gave rise to a good deal of probably unfounded scandal Both Swift and Arbuthnot admired Martha Blount, though Walpole spitefully describes her as "red-faced, fat, and by no means pretty"

The last edition "Johnson alludes, I suppose, to Warburton's edition (1751) But in no edition, even in Pope's lifetime, and when it was free from personal characters, did the Epistle appear otherwise than as it now appears, addressed simply *To a Lady*" (Cunningham) But Cunningham seems to have overlooked Warburton's notes to lines 1 and 259, in which he maliciously tries to make out that the lady addressed was an *imaginary* one, a statement which Courthope (iii, 11) calls "absurd."

11. The commentator Warburton.

15 A note, appended to line 103 in the octavo edition of 1735—"Between this and the former lines, and also in some following parts, a want of connection may be perceived, occasioned by the omission of certain examples and illustrations of the maxims laid down, which may put the reader in mind of what the author has said in his *imitation of Horace*." The reference is to Satire 1, 57-60.—

"In this impartial glass my Muse intends,
Fair to expose myself, my foes, my friends,
Publish the present age, but where my text
Is *vice too high*, reserve it for the next."

17 The Duchess of Marlborough, Sarah Jennings (1660-1744) In 1678 she married John Churchill, made Earl of Marlborough in 1689 and on the accession of Queen Anne, Lady Marlborough, who had known her from her earliest years, was made Mistress of the Robes For some years she exercised immense influence over the Queen in the Whig interest, but her insolence and violence gradually wore out Anne's patience, and the substitution of Harley and St John for the Whig ministers in 1710 marked the extinction of the influence of Lady Marlborough (now Duchess). She spent most of the rest of her life in retirement, especially after the death of her husband in 1722

18 Atossa, the name of a Persian queen, noted for her pride and ambition; she was daughter of Cyrus, wife to the great Darius, and mother of Xerxes, whom she is said to have urged to his disastrous expedition against Greece in 480 B. C

Pope's character of the Duchess is contained in lines 115-150,

19 The writer's gratitude This refers to the common report that Pope had received £1,000 from the Duchess to suppress the lines, which he nevertheless left, prepared for publication, at the time of his death. The conflicting evidence on this subject is discussed by Courthope (v, 77.) *seq.*, who comes to the conclusion that Pope wrote the character at the time when Lady Marlborough was supporting Walpole's Government with her vast wealth that about 1735, when she had changed sides and was in league with the Opposition, she concluded a sort of bargain with Pope, by which, in return for £1,000 or some similar sum, he bound himself to suppress his various attacks on her and the deceased Duke, and particularly an unpublished character of the latter that, nevertheless, Pope was unwilling to destroy his brilliant lines on Atossa, and therefore introduced a few alterations into them, which he hoped would make them pass muster for a character of the Duchess of Buckinghamshire "Thus, while indulging his own desire for the publication of the character, he probably reasoned himself into the belief that he would not be doing any injury to the Duchess of Marlborough" It is, at any rate, almost incredible that a man like Pope would have dared to publish a satire which he had been expressly paid to suppress, whilst the person who paid him was still alive and able to expose his treachery Bolingbroke, however, seized upon as much of the story as he knew, and gave it the darkest form, in pursuance of his general policy of blackening Pope's character after the poet's death (see page 58)

23 Once without it, referring to "Sober Advice from Horace to the Young Gentlemen about Town as delivered in his Second Sermon, imitated in the manner of Mr. Pope" This was included in an edition of Pope's works in 1738, as an Imitation of the Second Satire of the First Book of Horace's *Sermones*, but it was rejected from later editions In a letter of December 31st, 1734 (Elwin, vi, 353), Pope tells Caryl—"There is a piece of poetry from Horace come out, which I warn you not to take for mine, though some people are willing to fix it on me in truth I should think it a very indecent sermon after the Essay on Man" Nevertheless, in the preceding June Pope had actually sent the MS of this piece to Bolingbroke, asking him to keep the secret see Bolingbroke's letter to Swift, June 27th, 1734 (Elwin, vii, 322)

29 Ennius Quintus Ennius (239-169 B. C.), the first great tragic and narrative poet amongst the Romans His chief work was the *Annales*, a historical poem in 18 books, which exercised a great influence on the style of Virgil A few fragments only remain of Ennius' works

In his *Epistles*, ii, 1, Horace protests against the indiscriminate admiration of Ennius and other old poets, simply because they are old, and Pope follows him in his imitation of this Epistle, with the substitution of Shakespeare, Jonson, and similar names

30 Pantolabus and Nomentanus These are quoted as examples of a buffoon and a spendthrift respectively, by Horace, *Satires*, i, 8, 11, 11, 1, 22 The latter satire was one of those imitated by Pope.

32 Oldham, John Oldham (1653-1683) the son of a Nonconformist minister He was the author of two Pindarics, and other lyrical pieces, and of a number of Satires, some of which are imitated from Horace Other classical writers were also laid under contribution Oldham's original power was considerable, and Pope was under important literary obligations to him

Rochester See note to page 3, line 40

36 Pope's favourite amusement. He gave Spence the following account—"When I had a fever one winter in town that confined me to my room for five or six days, Lord Bolingbroke, who came to see me happened to take up a Horace that lay on the table, and in turning it over dropped on the first satire of Book II. He observed how well that would suit my case if I were to imitate it in English. After he was gone, I read it over, translated it in a morning or two, and sent it to press in a week or fortnight after. And this was the occasion of my imitating some others of the Satires and Epistles."

38 Numbers, verses

Dr Donne, John Donne (1578-1631), a popular preacher, who became Dean of St Paul's, and the father of that "metaphysical" or fantastic school of poets to which Cowley also belonged. His *Satires*, the versification of which is exceedingly rough, were first published in 1633, after his death. For Pope's version see Globe edition, page 324.

41. Imbecility, weakness, feebleness

Page 50 4 Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot, Globe edition, page 270. this now forms the Prologue to the Satires

5 Boileau, Nicholas Boileau (1636-1711), a French poet and critic, regarded as a great authority by the "correct" writers of the 18th century.

13 In the crowd of life, amid all the pressure and business of his life. Discovered, displayed.

20 Lines upon Addison, under the name of Atticus lines 193-214

31 Lord Hervey, John, Lord Hervey (1696-1743), son and heir of the Earl of Bristol. He died in 1743, in the lifetime of his father, to whose title, therefore, he never succeeded. Hervey was a clever but unprincipled man, and a great favourite with women, in spite of the bad health from which he suffered throughout his life. The origin of his bitter quarrel with Pope is obscure, but it probably arose out of their relations with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

33 One of his pamphlets, called *Sedition and Defamation displayed* (1731). The answer was entitled *A proper Reply to a late Scurrilous Libel*.

34 Pulteney, William Pulteney (1682-1764), a Whig politician, who nevertheless in 1728 joined the opposition of Walpole, and allied himself with Bolingbroke. When Walpole retired (1742) Pulteney was made Earl of Bath. His duel with Lord Hervey took place in 1731 both were slightly wounded, though Pulteney would have run Hervey through the body but for a slip of his foot.

Whether he or Pope, &c. Whether private disagreements they may have had, the first public attack came from Pope, who sneered at Lord Hervey in his *Miscellanies* (1727), the *Dunciad* (1728), and the *Imitations of Horace*, Satire 1 (1733).

35 An invective, &c. Johnson has confused two invectives one called *Verses addressed to the Imitator of the 1st Satire of the 2nd Book of Horace*, in which Hervey was assisted by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and another which he wrote unaided, *An Epistle from a Nobleman to a Doctor of Divinity, in answer to a Latin Letter in Verse*. The line *Hard as thy heart*, &c., occurs in the first of these, the latter accusation in the second.

38. And prose, i.e., and another in prose.

This poem, the *Epistle to Arbuthnot* of which Johnson has been speaking see lines 305-333, the character of *Sporus* —

"Let *Sporus* tremble—A What? that thing of silk,
Sporus, that mere white curd of ass's milk?
Satire or sense, alas! can *Sporus* feel?
Who breaks a butterfly upon a wheel?"

P Yet let me flap this bug with gilded wings,
This painted child of dirt that stinks and stings," &c.

39 The prose, &c., entitled "A Letter to a Noble Lord," and printed in *Elwin* and *Courthope*, v, 423, *seq.*

Page 51 1 Tedious malignity "This," notes Cunningham "was said from Johnson's fondness for the *Herveys*, and he has said elsewhere that the *meanest passage* in the *Epistle to Arbuthnot* is the satire upon *Sporus*." Johnson had been befriended during his early years in London by the Hon Henry Hervey, a brother of "*Sporus*," and he once told Boswell—"Harry Hervey was a vicious man, but very kind to me. If you call a dog Hervey, I shall love him."

"The Letter," says Courthope (v, 264), "is, in fact, a remarkable piece of satire, interesting, if not in itself, at least from the light it throws on Pope's character and feelings."

3 Two Dialogues, forming an Epilogue to the collected *Satires* (Globe edition, page 334). On the same day (in May, 1738) as these there appeared Johnson's *London*, an imitation of one of Juvenal's *Satires*.

7 Dined at his house This was in 1735. Under the Georges it frequently happened that the Prince of Wales took an active part in politics, usually in opposition to his father's ministers.

12 Allen of Bath See note to page 40, line 27

17 Humble Allen See lines 135-6 —

"Let humble Allen, with an awkward shame,
Do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame."

19 One of the Foxes This was Henry Fox (1705-1774), a Whig and loyal supporter of Walpole. He became leader of the House of Commons, and Secretary of State, and in 1763 was created Baron Holland. He was also one of Hervey's most intimate friends, as Pope indicates more than once. The present reference is to *Dialogue* 11, 166-7.—

"And how did, pray, the florid youth offend,
Whose speech you took, and gave it to a friend?"

Here the *florid youth* is Fox, the *friend* Hervey.

20 Lyttelton, George, afterwards Lord Lyttelton (1709-1773), a prominent politician on the side opposed to Walpole, as a minor poet, he has gained a place amongst Johnson's *Lives*. The "reply" referred to here was delivered in the House of Commons, Lyttelton being at that time secretary to the Prince of Wales, and a friend of Pope. "Lyttelton supported his friend, and replied that he thought in an honour to be received into the familiarity of so great a poet" (Johnson).

25 Paul Whitehead (1710-1774), the son of a tailor, and author of a few satires and other poems. His satire called *Manners* was published in 1739, Johnson called it "a poor performance," but, in Boswell's opinion,

he undervalued Whitehead on every occasion when he was mentioned, though "when it is considered that Paul Whitehead was a member of a riotous and profane club, we may account for Johnson's having a prejudice against him. Paul Whitehead was, indeed, unfortunate in being not only slighted by Johnson, but violently attacked by Churchill, who utters the following imprecation—

May I (can worse disgrace on manhood fall?)
Be born a Whitehead, and baptised a Paul

Yet I shall never be persuaded to think meanly of so brilliant and pointed a satire as *Manners*. Boswell also tells us that Johnson would not take less than ten guineas for his *London*, since Paul Whitehead had recently got that amount for a poem, and he would not take less than Whitehead.

26 Dodsley, Robert Dodsley (1703-1764), poet and dramatist, as well as a leading bookseller, with whom Johnson and Pope had many dealings. On this occasion, in 1739, he was detained in custody for a week, and had to pay £70 in fees

30. To intimidate Pope "Dodsley's prosecution was intended as a hint to Pope, and he understood it as such, and did not publish a *Third Dialogue*, which he certainly had designed to do" (Warton, in 1797)

34 His commentator, Warburton. We should now say "attempts at reformation," i, e., attempts to reform the world.

Page 52 r. About this time They were first published in April, 1741, in a collected edition of Pope's Works

4 The Scriblerus Club This association (to which Gay, Parnell, and Bolingbroke had also belonged) arose out of the Brothers' Club, formed by the Tory leaders and their literary friends in 1711.

5 An infatuated scholar, who was to be called Martinus Scriblerus.

8 Letters, literature.

21 Don Quixote, the masterpiece of the Spanish writer Cervantes (1547-1616), being a novel describing the adventures of an imaginary knight, Don Quixote, and intended to ridicule the taste for heroic and chivalrous romances

22. History of Mr. Ouffe This work ("A History of the Ridiculous Extravagances of Monsieur Ouffe," 1711) seems to have been a translation of a French book by the Abbé Laurent Bordelon, intended to do for magic, witchcraft, &c., what Cervantes did for knight-errantry (Lowndes, quoted by Mr. Ryland).

24 His Travels, Gulliver's Travels published in 1726 the third voyage more especially satirises learned men and philosophers.

29. Boileau See note to page 50, line 5, and compare Johnson's remark in his *Life of Addison*—"Nothing is better known of Boileau than that he had an injudicious and peevish contempt of modern Latin." Macaulay, however, in his *Essay on Addison*, denies the justice of this remark, pointing out that Boileau's main positions were that no poem of the first order would ever be written in a dead language, and that an Augustan writer would probably have detected ludicrous improprieties in even the best modern Latin, both of which seem reasonable enough.

34 A man, no less a person than Atterbury, afterwards Bishop of Rochester (see note to page 4, line 23) The book was entitled *Anthologia Selecta Poemata Italorum qui Latine scripserunt* (published in 1684).

Page 53 6 Concerted, planned, settled the plan of it

17 Asthma, a disease of the chest, marked by great difficulty in breathing

20 Another book, entitled "The New Dunciad as it was found in the year 1741 With the Illustrations of Scriblerus, and Notes Variorum" With reference to this Pope wrote to Warburton on November 22nd, 1741 (Elwin, ix, 222)—"Whether I shall owe you any obligation in contributing to make me a scribbler again, I know not for what I have done I do not like"

24 The laurel, &c, that is, Cibber had been for some time Poet Laureate

25 Colley Cibber (1671-1757), the son of a Danish sculptor who had settled in England, took to the stage, his first recorded appearance being in 1691 In 1696 he produced a play, which was successful, and the prelude to a long series of successes, both as a dramatist, a comedian, and a manager In 1730 he was made Poet Laureate, and in 1733 retired from the stage, devoting his time to the composition of his best work, the *Apology for his Life* (published in 1740) Pope, Warburton, Fielding, Dennis, and to a less extent Johnson, speak of Cibber with a contempt which was not deserved, and against which must be set the approval of Steele, Swift, Walpole, and most theatrical critics

27 The Careless Husband, a play by Cibber, produced in 1704 The reference is to Pope's *Imitations of Horace*, Epistles, II, 1., 89-94.—

"All this may be the People's voice is odd,
It is, and it is not, the voice of God
To Gammer Gurton if it give the bays,
And yet deny the *Careless Husband* praise,
Or say our fathers never broke a rule,
Why, then, I say, the Public is a fool"

28. In the Dunciad, Book III, 139-142, where "mighty Dulness" addresses her "hundred sons, and each a Dunce"—

"Mark first that youth who takes the foremost place,
And thrust his person full into your face
With all thy fathers's virtues blest, be born!
And a new Cibber shall the stage adorn"

29. His *Apology*, the *Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber*, published in 1740 In this Cibber more than once speaks in complimentary terms of Pope as "our great imitator of Horace," "our most celebrated living author," "this inimitable writer," &c

35 In one of his Satires, in the *Imitations of Horace*, Satire 1, 33, 34, where he says of the Royal Family—

"Alas! few verses touch their nicer ear;
They scarce can bear their Laureate twice a year"

This was published in 1733, seven years before Cibber's *Apology Epistle to Arbuthnot*, in line 97, and again in 372-3 —

"So humble, he has knocked at Tibbald's door,
Has drunk with Cibber, nay, has rhymed for Moore"

This was published in 1735, five years before Cibber's book

Page 54. 3 Did not want, was not without.

6. A pamphlet, called " a Letter from Mr Cibber to Mr. Pope, inquiring into the Motives that might induce him, in his Satirical Works, to be so frequently fond of Mr Cibber's name." Two editions of this appeared in 1742.

11 Three Hours after Marriage, a farce written by Gay, with the assistance of Arbuthnot and Pope, to ridicule a physician and geologist named Woodward. It was performed in January, 1716, and was hissed off the stage.

12. The mummy and crocodile, in which two of Woodward's wife's lovers were represented as concealing themselves. These objects were introduced by way of ridiculing Woodward's scientific collections, which were bequeathed by him to the University of Cambridge

13 Exploded, hooted off the stage. This is an old use of the verb derived from the Latin *explodere*, the regular word for "damning" a play (from *ex*, off, *plaudere*, to clap)

14 Bayes, the principal character in the *Rehearsal*, a play by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and other hands, produced in 1671, with the object of ridiculing the heroic plays then in fashion. The character of Bayes was mainly a caricature of the then Poet Laureate, Dryden

19. The scenes, the scenery and fittings of the stage.

20 He, Pope. An idle story, which Pope called "an absolute lie, as to the main point" (Spence, 338)

35. But, except. Asperity, bitterness.

38. He, Cibber. Would rise, &c, because a man of the Pope's powers had thought him a worthy antagonist

Page 55 5 Irascibility, the quality of being easily provoked to anger : from the Latin *irasci*, to be angry

8 Published, in October, 1743

12. Depraved, made it worse, spoiled it

16 Osborne, a bookseller, who, according to Pope's note (*Dunciad*, 11, 167), had annoyed him by pretending to sell the quarto subscription copies of the *Iliad* at half-price, this he did by cutting down the common folio copies, on inferior paper, to quarto size : see page 49. With this Osborne Johnson had some dealings, and "it has been confidently related," says Boswell, "that Johnson one day knocked Osborne down in his shop with a folio, and put his foot upon his neck. The simple truth I had from Johnson himself — Sir, he was impertinent to me, and I beat him but it was not in his shop, it was in my own chamber."

20 Cassandra, a daughter of Priam, King of Troy. The god Apollo, who loved her, bestowed upon her the gift of prophecy, but when she rejected his suit, he became angry, and declared that no one should believe her prophecies, until after the event.

30. Magpye, or magpie, a bird which is easily taught to imitate sounds and words. Johnson was thinking of Pope's *Moral Essays*, Epistle 1., 5-8:—

"The cockcomb bird, so talkative and grave,
That from his cage cries cuckold, whore, and knave,
Tho' many a passenger he rightly call,
You hold him no philosopher at all."

-It is quite possible, however, that Pope meant, not a magpie, but a parrot: such, for instance, is the explanation given in the *N E D.* under *co rcomb*

Cuckold, a man whose wife is unfaithful to him At a venture, at random, whether the term is appropriate to the person or not

31 His engagement, the resolution referred to on page 54, line 6

32 Another pamphlet, " Another Occasional Letter from Mr Cibber to Mr Pope Wherein the New Hero's preferment to his throne in the Dunciad seems not to be accepted and the Author of that Poem his more rightful claim to it is asserted," published in 1744

Pope said, in a letter to Warburton, January 12th, 1744 (Elwin, ix 239) — "I am told the Laureat is going to publish a very abusive pamphlet That is all I can desire , it is enough if it be abusive, and if it be his He will be more to me than a dose of hartshorn . and as a stink revives one who has been oppressed with perfumes, his railing will cure me of a course of flatteries "

33 Hartshorn, volatile salts of ammonia, so called because originally extracted from the horns of deer Having a very pungent o lour, they are used for reviving fainting persons, &c.

34 Mr Richardson, Jonathan Richardson, the younger, who had assisted his father to publish Explanatory Notes on *Paradise Lost* together with a Life of Milton, in 1734

37. Wrnthen, twisted, distorted, a word no longer employed, though we use the verb *to writhe*

- Page 56 7. Brutus the Trojan, a mythical character in the *History* of Geoffrey of Monmouth (died 1154) he was alleged to have been the grandson of Æneas, and to have led a colony of Trojans to Britain, which derived its name from him Pope informs Blount, in a letter of September, 1717 (Elwin, vi 375), that he had just been reading this veracious chronicle. and about 1743 he told Spence something of the plan of a proposed Epistle on the subject (Spence, 238)

14. Ruffhead See note to page 10, line 4

18 As he expresses it, in a letter to Warburton, February 21st, 1744 (Elwin, ix 240) — " I have for some months thought myself going, and that not slowly, down the hill—the rather, as every attempt of the physicians, and still the last medicines more forcible in their nature, have utterly failed to serve me "

22 Dr. Thomson, or Thompson, was apparently little more than a quack He did not long deceive Pope, to whom he said on May 15th "that he was glad to find he breathed so much easier, that his pulse was very good, and several other encouraging things," upon which Pope ironically remarked to his next visitor, " Here am I dying of a hundred good symptoms "

24. Distemper, disease Dropsy, a disease characterised by a large accumulation of watery fluid in some part of the body. the name is derived from the Greek *hydrops*, from *hydor*, water

25 Tincture, the name given in medicine to a solution of some substance in alcohol Jalap, a well-known purgative medicine prepared from a plant originally obtained from Jalapa, a Spanish town in Mexico

29 Lord Marchmont, Hugh Hume (1708-1794), third Earl of Marchmont, a title to which he succeeded in 1740. He was bitterly opposed to Walpole, and intimate with Bolingbroke and Pope, the latter of whom made Marchmont one of his four executors

30 Martha Blount, See page 49, line 7

33. Captious, difficult to please.

35 She is said, &c On the other hand Warburton told Spence—"It was very observable, during his last month, that Mrs Blount's coming in gave a new turn of spirits, or a temporary strength to him" (Spence, 367).

37. A very great part Pope's will left her a thousand pounds down, and the greater part of his furniture, plate, &c, which brought her nearly two thousand more.

Page 57 11 Dodsley, the bookseller. see page 51, line 26

15 Spence, See page 321 of his book — "'O great God ! what is man ?' said Lord B, looking on Mr Pope, and repeating it several times, interrupted with sobs When I was telling his lordship that Mr. Pope, on every catching and recovery of his mind, was always saying something kindly," &c Most of the details of Pope's end given by Johnson are taken from Spence, 319-322

24 Mr Hooke. See note to page 46, line 18

25 Like his father and mother, *i. e.*, with the last ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church

28. The last sacraments, the consecrated bread of the Eucharist, and the sacrament of Extreme Unction, or anointing with consecrated oil.

33 Expiration, death (literally, breathing his last), a sense in which the word is no longer used Compare the *Life of Milton*, page 45—"He died by a quiet and silent expiration"

Near his father and mother The former had been buried at Chiswick. Pope, however, had erected a monument to both his parents in Twickenham Church, and is reported by Spence (page 289) as saying, "I would be buried in Twickenham Church, in the place where my father and mother lie."

35 The Bishop of Gloucester, *i. e.*, Warburton

36 His executors, the persons appointed in his will to carry out its provisions after his death Pope, however, did not leave his papers to them, but to Bolingbroke The executors were Lord Bathurst, Lord Marchmont, Mr. Murray (afterwards Lord Mansfield), and Mr. George Arbuthnot

Page 58. 2 Reserved for the next age Compare Pope's *Imitations of Horace*, Satire 1, 59-60.—

"Publish the present age : but where my text
Is vice too high, reserve it for the next "

4 The Patriot King Bolingbroke and the other leaders of the opposition to Walpole professed to believe that George II was gradually making himself absolute by the help of that statesman, and developed an ideal of a "Patriot King," ruling constitutionally by the consent, and with the affection, of his subjects This ideal they hoped to find realised in Frederick, Prince of Wales; and, in support of it, Bolingbroke in 1738

instructed Pope to have printed a few copies of his "Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism, on the Idea of a Patriot King, and on the State of Parties "

5 Impression, printing. It is said that this edition was printed at the suggestion and expense of Allen (see page 40), but Pope, according to Bolingbroke, 'took upon him further to divide the subject, and to alter or omit passages according to the suggestions of his own fancy' It was probably this that caused so much offence to the author

11 As was observed, by Mallet (see a few lines below)

15 The whole impression So Bolingbroke professed, but he kept one copy which was subsequently reprinted

24 Mallet see note to page 19, line 26

26. His legacy, which was the copyright of all Pope's printed works

29 An apology, in "A Letter to the Editor of the Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism, the Idea of a Patriot King, and the State of Parties, &c," published in 1749

30 Oblivuity, a falling away from uprightness

37 Copy, copyright, the right to publish the book

Page 59 2 A Letter, &c. This professed to be written by Mallet, but (according to Cunningham) the original manuscript is in Bolingbroke's handwriting

4 He, Pope For Mr Allen see notes to page 40 Pope left him £150, "being, to the best of my calculation, the amount of what I have received from him, partly for my own, and partly for charitable uses "

8 Comported, behaved

Indecent, unseemly, unbecoming This dispute took place towards the end of 1743, but little is known about it Pope at once left the house, Martha not till the next day, having, as she said, to suffer various indignities whilst she was making her travelling arrangements Allen evidently thought the matter exaggerated by the women on both sides, and made some advances to Pope in 1744, which were received rather coldly.

11 As to refuse, &c But Martha herself told Spence (357) — "I had never read his will, but he mentioned to me the part relating to Mr Allen, and I advised him to omit it, but could not prevail on him to do so "

16 Polluted The word would scarcely be used now in such a connection

18 Accountant, the French form of the word which is now written *accountant*

19 A cypher, the figure O, making the sum £1500. Had, would have.

The truth, viz of what Allen had spent on him

22 The Little Club The *Guardian*, Nos 91, 92 (June 25, 26, 1713) contained two letters from "Bob Short, *Secretary*" to "Nestor Ironside, Esq," explaining that "a set of us have formed a society, who are sworn to dare to be short, and boldly bear out the dignity of littleness " Some of the members are described, and first "little poet," Dick Distich by name, whom "we have elected President. The figure of the man is

odd enough; he is a lively little creature, with long arms and legs . a spider is no ill emblem of him he has been taken at a distance for a small windmill" (Elwin, x , 522, *seq*)

27. Application, viz , to his studies

32. A long disease. From Pope's *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, 131-2 —

" The Muse but served to ease some friend, not wife,
To help me through this long disease, my life "

36 The Earl of Oxford, Edward, the second Earl, son of Robert Harley "Johnson, I suspect, alludes to the account printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1775, page 435, from which many of the particulars in his narrative are certainly derived " (Cunningham)

39. Doublet, a former name for a close-fitting garment for men, worn over the upper part of the body

40 Rose, from bed Invested, clothed, dressed . this, the literal meaning of the word, is now seldom found, though its transferred and metaphorical uses are common

41 Boddice, originally applied to what we now call *stays*, a close-fitting arrangement stiffened with whalebone, etc , worn over the upper part of the body, but usually only by women The word was a plural form of *body*, the original phrase being a *pair of bodies* (whence *bodice*, or *boddice*), just as we now speak of a *pair of stays* It is now always spelt *bodice*, and applied to a different part of a woman's dress, namely, a tight-fitting outer vest

Page 60 9 Tye-wig See note to page 5, line 34.

11 A valetudinary man, or, as we more commonly say, a *valetudinary*, a sickly person, who devotes most of his attention to his state of health from the Latin *valetudo*, the state of one's health

15 C'est que l'enfant, &c , "it is because the child is always a man, and the man always a child," a French proverb

17 Nodded in company, allowed himself to go to sleep, even in the presence of his friends or guests Pope says this of himself in the *Imitations of Horace*, Satire 1, 13—

"Not write ? But then I think,
And for my soul I cannot sleep a wink
I nod in company, I wake at night,
Fools rush into my head, and so I write "

22. Attendance, body of attendants, a use of the abstract for the concrete which is now obsolete Compare the *Life of Milton*, page 20 — Salmasius was dismissed with a train of attendance scarce less than regal."

39 Conserves, sweetmeats preserved with sugar. really a French word, derived from the Latin *conservare*, to preserve

Page 61 1 A dram, properly, a small quantity of spirit (brandy, &c), as distinguished from wine . the quantity which it is usual to drink at one time forms a dram

2 Avenues, ways of approach

5 Lustre, glory, brilliance.

Hannibal, the great Carthaginian general (248-183 B C), whose life was devoted to the attempt to crush the power of Rome Making his way

into Italy in 218, he maintained himself there until 203, inflicting enormous losses upon the Romans from time to time. The greatest of his victories was at Cannae, in South Italy, where 70,000 Romans are said to have fallen (B C 216). After the decisive battle of Zama in Africa (202), and the submission of Carthage, Hannibal went into exile, first at the court of Antiochus, king of Syria, then at that of Prusias, king of Bithynia, both of whom were aided by him in their wars against Rome. At last, in 183, the Romans demanded his surrender from Prusias, who was afraid to refuse, whereupon Hannibal took the poison which he was said to have carried about with him concealed in a ring.

Says Juvenal, the Roman satirist, in his Tenth Satire, 163-5.

9 Potted, preserved with salt, &c, in pots

Lampreys The lamprey is a peculiar eel-like fish, with a round sucking mouth by which it attaches itself to stones, &c hence its name, derived, through the Low Latin *lampreda* and *lampetra*, from *lambere*, to lick, *petra*, a rock

17 He hardly drank tea, &c From Young's *Love of Fame, the Universal Passion* (Satire vi, 187-8) —

“For her own breakfast she'll project a scheme,
Nor take her tea without a stratagem”

22 Lord Orrery, John Boyle, fifth Earl of Cork and Orrery (1707-1762) He succeeded to the title in 1731, and made himself known as the friend of Swift and Pope, and afterwards of Johnson. He was the author of the malicious “Remarks on the Life and Writings of Swift,” published in 1751.

23 In a French phrase, “un politique aux choux et aux rayes” Boswell tells us that Johnson “himself often resembled Lady Bolingbroke's lively description of Pope. He would say, ‘I dine to-day at the other end of the town,’ or ‘A gentleman of great eminence called on me yesterday.’ He loved thus to keep things floating in conjecture.”

25 Impression, the printing of an edition. On page 58 Johnson seems inclined to accept Warburton's more charitable explanation.

31 Resembled Dryden, who “declares of himself that he was saturnine, and not one of those whose spritely sayings diverted company” (Johnson's *Life of Dryden*, page 47).

33 So near his time Johnson was writing only thirty-six years after Pope's death.

36 Apophthegm (pronounced *apo-them*), a short and pithy saying. The Greek *apo phithegma*, a thing uttered. The word was usually spelt *apothegm*, until Johnson in his Dictionary expressed a preference for the longer form.

37 Inscription, for Shakespeare. This was a Latin inscription in which Dr Mead objected to the use of the phrase *amor publicus*, the public love.

38 Patrick, Samuel Patrick (1684-1748), for some years second master at the Charterhouse School. He translated Terence's comedies and edited a Latin Dictionary (1746), as well as other works.

39 Horresco referens, “I shudder to relate it,” says Johnson, who had himself published a Dictionary. The words come from Virgil, *Æneid*, ii, 204.

Page 62 Allow, admit.

5 Lady Mary Wortley, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), daughter of Lord Kingston, and wife of Edward Wortley Montagu, a Whig politician and scholar, whom she married in 1712 She became well known to all the wits, and especially to Pope, who addressed to her letters of affected gallantry during her absence with her husband, appointed Ambassador to Turkey, 1716-1718 On their return Pope persuaded them to settle near him at Twickenham, but about 1722 he quarrelled with Lady Mary, whom ever afterwards he attacked in his poems with ribald malignity, under the name of Sappho Various stories are told of the origin of the quarrel, about which nothing is absolutely certain, though Courthope accepts the account said to have been given by Lady Mary herself, that Pope had made a declaration of love to her which she received with a fit of laughter From 1739 to 1762 she resided abroad, returning to England only to die Lady Mary published poems, but she is chiefly known now by her Letters, written from the East, and published in 1763, and by her efforts to introduce into England the practice of inoculation for small-pox, which she had observed in Turkey.

11 By no merriment, &c His sister, Mrs Racket, told Spence (Page 206)—"I never saw him laugh very heartily, in all my life " "It is very true," adds Spence, "that in the latter part of his life, when he told a story, he was always the last to laugh at it and seldom went beyond a particular easy smile on any occasion that I remember "

18 The practice of writing, &c Hence Swift called him "paper-sparing Pope."

23 Pint, a small bottle of wine

25 Tells his friends Compare his letter to Swift, March 23, 1737 (Elwin, vii , 357):-"Would to God you would come over with Lord Orrery, and bring with you your old housekeeper, and two or three servants 'I have room for all, a heart for all, and, think what you will, a fortune for all We could, were we together, contrive to make our last days easy, and leave some sort of monument what friends two wits could be in spite of all the fools in the world "

34. From public approbation, as shown in the purchase of his writings.

38. Grotto. See page 30, as also for the quincunx.

41 The Mint, a portion of the London district known as Southwark, where Henry VIII. had a mint for the coinage of money. The ground was subsequently sold, and a number of mean houses built upon it, but the district claimed the privileges of an asylum from the law, and became a refuge for debtors and criminals, as well as for poor poets These privileges were abolished by statute under George I., the place having become a perfect pest, but all those debtors who owed less than £50 were allowed to go free.

Page 63 1. Want, be without.

9. He never flattered, &c Compare his words in Spence, 141 :—"If I am a good poet (for in truth I do not know whether I am or not)—but if I should be a good poet, there is one thing I value myself upon, and which can scarce be said of any of our good poets . and that is, that I have never flattered any man, nor ever received anything of any man for my verses "

11. Savage. See note to page 12, line 23.

12 Distich, a stanza of two verses . the Greek *di-stichon*, with two lines This distich is the "Epigram engraved on the Collar of a Dog which I gave to his Royal Highness," &c , to Frederick, Prince of Wales, son of George II See Globe edition, page 487 .—

"I am his Highness' dog at Kew ,
Pray tell me, Sir, whose dog are you ?"

Pope seems to have taken the idea from a story related by Sir William Temple in one of his works—" Mr Grantam's fool's reply to a great man that asked whose fool he was, ' I am Mr. Grantam's fool , pray, whose fool are you?'"

15 Congreve See note to page 25, line 13

Had been, would have been

21 Consequence, importance Congreve, however, was probably the most important man of letters of the day unconnected with any political party, and Pope at that time was steering clear of politics, and endeavouring to win the favour of the whole nation, rather than of half of it (see page 14)

24. Lord Bathurst See page 47, line 24

26 Cobham See page 48, line 8 Burlington. See page 38, line 11.

30 Effulgence, a shining forth

36 The Golden Age, an age of perfect innocence and happiness, related by the ancient poets to have once existed upon earth

Page 64 1 Sophistication, perversion of the exact truth by blending fiction with it the word is sometimes used of the literal adulteration of good materials with bad

23 Self-love does not suspect, &c Under the influence of self-love the man does not suspect that these gleams of generosity, courage, &c , are only the products of fancy, as short-lived as the meteor which flashes through the sky

25 The letters of Pope, &c. " He laboured them," says Horace Walpole, "as much as the *Essay on Man*, and as they were written to everybody, they do not look as if they had been written to anybody " Their dry and frigid generalities, remarks Elwin (1 , xxvi), could not be more happily exposed

29 Pope confesses, in his preface to the authorised edition of 1737 (Elwin, vi , xxxviii), where, speaking of the previous edition of his letters to Wycherley, and to certain ladies, Pope says—" If in these letters there appear too much of a juvenile ambition of wit, or affectation of gaiety, he may reasonably hope it will be considered to *whom*, and at *what age*, he was guilty of it, as well as how soon it was over. "

33 Contempt of his own poetry Compare Pope's Preface to the 1717 edition of his works (Elwin, 1 , 7) —" I had too much fondness for my productions to judge of them at first, and too much judgment to be pleased with them at last But I have reason to think they can have no reputation which will continue long, or which deserves to do so "

38 Swift complains, in a letter to Mrs Caesar, July 30th, 1733 (Scott's *Swift*, xviii , (138) —" My Lord Bolingbroke and Mr Pope press me with many kind invitations, but the former is too much a philosopher, he dines at six in the evening, after studying all the morning until the afternoon;

and when he hath dined, to his studies again Mr. Pope can neither eat nor drink, loves to be alone, and hath always some poetical scheme in his head Thus the two best companions and friends I ever had have utterly disqualified themselves for my conversation, and my way of living "

41 The dreadful winter of Forty, of 1739-40, when the Thames was frozen for some weeks together. booths, huts and shops were erected on the ice, and coaches driven on it.

Page. 65 11. Never sees courts Compare page 47, and the note to line 18 there

12 Obduracy, stubbornness, obstinacy

13 Had not much to say. As the story is reported by Horace Walpole (letter to Mann, September 13th, 1741), Pope made a very clever answer. "Mr Pope," said the Prince, "you don't love Princes?" "Sir, I beg your pardon " "Well, you don't love Kings then " "Sir, I own I love the lion best before his claws are grown "

17. Emmets, ants, of which the word is an older form *emmet* represents the Anglo-Saxon *amete*, which became successively *amet*, *amt*, and *ant*

21. Superstructed, literally, built on, or over, something The verb is unusual, though *suspect structure* is common enough

26. A fool to fame From the *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, 127—"As yet a child, nor yet a fool to fame," *i e*, not infatuated by the hope of fame.

33 Makes it his boast, &c Compare page 47, line 1

36 Lest the clerks, &c This fear comes out especially in the correspondence with Swift, who also makes similar allusions. Perhaps there was more ground for it than Johnson, living in less stormy times, was ready to admit. for Bolingbroke, Atterbury, and Swift were all suspected of Jacobitism, and it would not have been surprising if a watch had been kept on their correspondence Allusions to the behaviour of the Post-Office occur, e g, in Pope's letters to Swift of November 28th, 1729, and February 16th, 1733, and in Swift's letter of October 3rd, 1732 (Elwin, vii., 173, 298, 288).

38 After many deaths, &c Loosely quoted from Pope's letter to Swift, September 14th, 1725 (Elwin, vii, 50) - "After so many dispersions and so many divisions, two or three of us may yet be gathered together, not to plot, not to contrive silly schemes of ambition, or to vex our own or others' hearts with busy vanities, such as perhaps at one time of life or other take their tour in every man, but to divert ourselves, and the world too, if it pleases, or, at worst, to laugh at others as innocently and as un hurtfully as at ourselves " In Swift's reply, dated September 29th, the Dean says—"I like the scheme of our meeting after distresses and dispersions, but *the chief end I propose to myself in all my labours is to vex the world rather than divert it*, and if I could compass that design without hurting my own person or fortune, I would be the most indefatigable writer you have ever seen "

41 Shew what friends, &c. See the letter to Swift quoted in the note to page 62 line 25

Page 66 2 Hand, handwriting.

3 With what degree, &c Addison appears to have been one of the "fools" who enquired into this matter. see his *Spectator*, No. 253.—"The greatest wits that ever were produced in one age, lived together in so good

an understanding, that each of them receives an additional lustre from his contemporaries . . . I need not tell my reader that I here point at the reign of Augustus . . . In our own country a man seldom sets up for a poet without attacking the reputation of all his brothers in the art, " &c.

9 Mimicry, imitation

10 Became him, was suitable or appropriate in him.

When he was twenty-five If this means that he was 25 when he wrote what follows, it is wrong, since in 1723 Pope was 35 If, on the other hand, it means that at the age of 25 he was glutted with retirement, then Johnson's writing is extremely loose and ambiguous.

11. Glut, an over-supply, over-abundance. The quotation is from a letter to Swift, dated by Pope in one edition " August, 1723, " and in another " January 12th, 1723 " The former is more likely to be correct. The passage runs (Elwin, vii, 39):—" This leads me to give you some account of the manner of my life and conversation, which has been infinitely more various and dissipated than when you knew me [Swift left England in 1714, when Pope was 26], among all sexes, parties, and professions A glut of study and retirement in the first part of my life cast me into this; and this, I begin to see, will throw me again into study and retirement "

13 Swift answered, on September 20th, 1727 (Elwin, vii, 45).—" I have no very strong faith in you pretenders to retirement You are not of an age for it, nor have gone through either good or bad fortune enough to go into a corner—unless a poet grows weary of too much applause, as ministers do of too much weight of business "

34 Carelessness, freedom from care, the " negligent indifference " referred to above.

35. Philips See page 13

36 Bentley, Richard Bentley (1652-1742), a great classical scholar and critic, and master of Trinity College, Cambridge, for forty years In the celebrated Battle of the Books, or War between the Ancients and Moderns, Bentley had sided with Wotton against Sir W Temple, Boyle, Atterbury, Swift, &c, and had gained a signal victory over them This may account for part of Pope's enmity to the critic, as he would naturally sympathise with his friends, Swift and Atterbury

38 Wanton, reckless in attacking without sufficient justification

Chandos See page 38 *Lady Wortley* See page 62 Hill See page 37.

Page 67 2 He assisted Dodsley, afterwards the well-known publisher Dodsley sent his second literary effort, a play called *The Toyshop*, to Pope, who wrote him a kind letter (February 5th, 1733 Elwin, ix, 535), and recommended it to Rich, the manager of Drury Lane Theatre The play was acted in 1735 with great success, and the profits enabled Dodsley to open a book-shop

4 Raised for Savage, who had for a time received £200 a year from Lord Tyrconnel, and £50 from Queen Caroline. But he quarrelled with the former, and the Queen died, so that Savage was thrown upon the world again Some of his friends now raised amongst themselves an annuity equal to what the Queen had allowed him, and to this Pope contributed £20

13 Allen See page 59

14 One, Martha Blount

15 Violation of the trust, &c See page 58.

17. The indifferent, neither good nor bad, and therefore unimportant

24 The Earl of Marchmont See page 56 Boswell called on him on May 12th, 1778, "to know if his lordship would favour Dr Johnson with information concerning Pope Johnson had not flattered himself with the hopes of receiving any civility from this nobleman," who nevertheless promised to call on Johnson the next day, and tell him all he recollected The Doctor, however, was by no means pleased on hearing of this appointment, and peevishly answered "I shall not be in town to-morrow I don't care to know about Pope" In consequence, he did not meet Lord Marchmont until May 1st, 1779, when Johnson spent a couple of hours at his house, and told Boswell as they came out, "Sir, I would rather have given twenty pounds than not have come"

27 Racine, Louis Racine (died 1763), son of the great French dramatist In a poem called *La Religion* he alluded to Pope's *Essay on Man*, and to the 'abstract reasoner, who on the banks of the Thames replies with English phlegm, All is right' Pope employed one Ramsay to write to Racine in April, 1742, and to assure him that he was mistaken in his interpretation of the poem, for that Pope was a very good Catholic, and had kept to the religion of his forefathers in a country where he had many temptations to abandon it In the following September Pope himself wrote that he would readily submit all his opinions to the decision of the Church But he can scarcely have been very sincere in this, and though Racine acquitted him of designing to preach Deism, the French writer still maintained that it was present in the *Essay*, and was in fact the secret of its popularity in France (Elwin, II, 291-2)

29 Indecent, unseemly.

34 Of revelation, in revealed religion

Positions, propositions laid down as the basis of reasoning This refers to the *Essay on Man* compare page 43.

39 Delinquencies, failings, imperfections

Page 68 2 Allowed, admitted by his fellow-men, acknowledged.

4. Essay on Criticism See pages 6, 75

8 Paracelsus, a celebrated German alchemist and physician (died 1541). He spent much of his life in wandering over Europe to learn all that he could from nature for the scholastic and medical discussions of his time he thoroughly despised He contended that it was ten times more useful for the physician to know the secrets of nature, than to spend years on Greek and Latin grammar Hence, by the academy, or school, of Paracelsus is meant the study of nature, not books

12 Dobson See page 46, line 34

19 Excursive, fond of making excursions into various departments of knowledge

21 Desire of travelling Spence tells us (page 8)—"Mr Pope should have travelled had it not been for his ill-health, and on every occasion that offered had a desire to travel, to the very end of his life" In a letter to Swift, of September 1st, 1733 (Elwin, VII, 316) Pope says—"In earnest I would go a thousand miles by land to see you, but the sea I dread My ailments are such that I really believe a sea-sickness would kill me"

22 Verses to Jervas. See page 13, line 40, and compare lines 23-38 of the poem (Globe edition, page 449).—

P. 16.

"What flattering scenes our wandering fancy wrought,
Rome's pompous glories rising to our thought !
Together o'er the Alps methinks we fly,
Fired with ideas of fair Italy," &c

25 Intuitive, perceiving by *intuition*, *i e*, by direct apprehension, without the need of reasoning or demonstration Thus, I am said to know by intuition, or intuitively, that I am hot or hungry, that black is not white, &c

Consonance, suitableness literally, a harmony or pleasing agreement of sounds

30. Quiescent, in a state of rest

38 He is said, &c "I had a vast memory," said Pope, as reported by Spence, 280

Page 69 18 Whose labour is their pleasure Compare Pope's Preface to his Works, 1717 (Elwin, 1, 7)—"I writ because it amused me, I corrected because it was as pleasant to me to correct as to write"

26 When they have completed them "This," remarks Cunningham, "was Johnson's own practice, partly, however, induced by his nearness of sight"

29 Retrenching, cutting down, curtailing A similar story is told of Milton, though there Johnson receives it with some scepticism see the *Life of Milton*, pages 29, 30

35 The same fabric of verse Almost all Pope's works are written in heroic couplets the Ode for St Cecilia, the Universal Prayer, and some of his imitations, are the only considerable exceptions.

Page 70 19 Nice, scrupulous.

26 He professed, &c "I learned versification wholly from Dryden's works, who had improved it much beyond any of our former poets, and would, probably, have brought it to its perfection, had not he been unhappily obliged to write so often in haste" (Spence) Compare page 3

30 Integrity, like *rectitude* just afterwards, is here used in an *intellectual* sense, of correctness of judgment, not in the sense of *moral* uprightness, which both of the words usually convey

33 Poetical prejudices, such as that in favour of rhymed plays

Unnatural thoughts, such as the "conceits" of the poetical school of Cowley

34 Rugged numbers, or metres, such as those of Donne, and others of Dryden's predecessors, which can often barely be distinguished from prose

35 Merely for the people. Compare Dryden's Parallel of Poetry and Painting, prefixed to his translation of Du Fresnoy's *Art of Painting* (Scott, xvii, 333) —"The faults of the *Spanish Friar* are in the kind of it, which is tragi-comedy But it was given to the people. and I never writ anything for myself but *Antony and Cleopatra*"

Page 71. 1 The press, the printing-press

8 Punctilious, entering scrupulously into the smallest points.

14 Satires of Thirty-eight See page 51

17. Transcript, a copy taken word for word (*transcribed*) from the original.

30 More scholastic, since he was educated at Westminster School and at Cambridge, whilst Pope went to no school or university, but was educated privately.

Page 72 2 Observes, obeys, complies with, as in the phrase, *to observe a rule*.

7. Velvet lawn, a well-kept piece of grass, as smooth and soft as velvet.

Scythe, an instrument for cutting grass, consisting of a long curved blade fastened to a long wooden handle, bent into a peculiar shape for convenience of handling

10 Inert, inactive, lifeless

31. Partial, inclined to favour one side more than the other.

34. Distinctly, one by one

41 Close thought. Johnson appears to have been led to say this by Pope's own statement in the prefatory Discourse, that his four poems "have as much variety of description, in respect of the several seasons, as Spenser's, that in order to add to this variety, the several times of the day are observed, the rural employments in each season or time of day, and the rural scenes or places proper to such employments, not without some regard to the several ages of man, and the different passions proper to each age." But, as Elwin remarks, the conception was very imperfectly executed, and in part is puerile (1, 245).

Page 73 2 The last, or fourth, called *Winter* (Globe edition, page 22), and dedicated to the memory of a Mrs Tempest, who died in 1703.

7. A line, &c See lines 49-50 .—

"The balmy Zephyrs, silent since her death,
Lament the ceasing of a sweeter breath "

9 Require what never was intended Yet "rural scenery and life have furnished abundant novelty to Thomson, Cowper, Wordsworth, and Crabbe, whose pictures are as fresh and unhacknied as if Theocritus and Virgil had never lived . . . If Pope had been capable of higher flights, it would have done him no honour to have employed his melodious verse in piecing together stale, vapid, and often paltry ideas" (Elwin, 1 . 243-4)

11. Literature, learning Wit, original power.

13 Judicious selection Elwin, on the other hand, remarks (1, 244) that "the homage Pope paid to famous names seduced his immature taste into the admiration of many a vicious passage, and he endeavoured to emulate or outdo the frigid and hyperbolical conceits of his prototypes".

15 A series of versification, &c "He writes verses so well," said Lady M W. Montagu of Pope, "that he is in danger of bringing even good verse into disrepute, from his all tune and no meaning" (Spence, 237).

17 Windsor Forest, See page 13

18 Cooper's Hill, the best-known work of Sir John Denham (1615-1668), a minor poet who, according to Johnson, is "deservedly considered one of the fathers of English Poetry."

Waller, Edmund Waller (1605-1687) : compare note to page 30, line 29. Mr. Ryland thinks that Johnson is alluding to Waller's two poems entitled *At Penshurst*, the first of which begins—

"While in the Park I sing, the listening deer
Attend my passion, and forget to fear "

21. The objection, &c, in his *Remarks upon Mr Pope's Translation of Homer*—"In *Windsor Forest*, though a poem of above 400 lines, there is no manner of design, nor any artful and beautiful disposition of parts "

32 Father Thames, who appears with the usual attributes of a classical river-god, lines 329, *seq*—

"In that blest moment from his oozy bed
Old father Thames advanced his reverend head," &c

On this Courthope remarks (v , 33) that "The figure of Old Father Thames bowing to Queen Anne, like a Mayor presenting an address would have betrayed its absurdity to any author whose judgment had not been blinded by a prejudice in favour of classical conventionality

33 Lodona See line 171—

"Above the rest a rural nymph was famed,
Thy offspring, Thames ! the fair Lodona named "

She is pursued by Pan, and calls on Diana for help—

"She said, and melting as in tears she lay,
In a soft silver stream dissolved away
The silver stream her virgin coldness keeps,
For ever murmurs, and for ever weeps ;
Still bears the name the hapless virgin bore,
And bathes the forest where she ranged before "

The stream is the Loddon

His Campaign, a poem in honour of Marlborough's victory at Blenheim
Near the end occur the lines—

"When actions unadorned are faint and weak,
Cities and countries must be taught to speak
Gods may descend in factions from the skies,
And rivers from their oozy beds arise,
Fiction may deck the truth with spurious rays,
And round the hero cast a borrowed blaze "

But Marlborough's exploits, he goes on to say, require no such adventurous aids "they proudly shine in their own native light."

34 Oozy, covered with ooze, soft, slimy mud

37 Metamorphosis, a Greek word equivalent to the Latin 'transformation'. Classical mythology is full of transformations such as that described by Pope, and these stories supplied the material for the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid

40 The Temple of Fame See page 12, line 13, and notes

Page 74 1 Was never denied, &c Authorities, however, have differed on this subject Thomas Warton considered the character of the poem to be marred, and Elwin (1, 196) remarks that the free fancy and picturesqueness of Chaucer are wanting, the romance which constitutes the truth and charm of the original dream is replaced by a scene of frigid tameness.

9. The Messiah. See page 9, and with Johnson's comment here compare Steele's letter to Pope, June 1st, 1712 (Elwin, vi., 390)—"I have turned to every verse and chapter, and think you have preserved the sublime heavenly spirit throughout the whole. . . . Your poem is already better than the *Pollio* "

10 What original, *etc.*, the book of Isaiah in the Bible.

11. Verses on the unfortunate Lady. See page 9.

12 Illaudable, an unusual word meaning 'not deserving of praise,' or even 'deserving of blame.'

Treating suicide with respect Mr. Ward, on the other hand, remarks (in the Globe edition) that "even if the situation upon which the poem is based were real instead of fictitious, Dr Johnson's accusation against it as attempting a defence of suicide would remain unwarranted In execution this elegy ranks with Pope's most consummate efforts, in pathetic power it stands almost alone among his works "

18 Disparage, in its original sense of degrading a person by an unequal marriage, a meaning which is obsolete We now use it as equivalent to speaking slightly of a person

24 Ode for St Cecilia's day, Globe edition, page 41 St. Cecilia was the patroness of music, and on her festival (November 22nd) a musical performance was given, at which an ode specially composed for the occasion was sung Dryden had twice composed such an ode, in 1687 and 1697

At the desire of Steele "Many people would like my Ode on Music better if Dryden had not written on that subject It was at the request of Mr Steele that I wrote mine, and not with any thought of rivalling that great man, whose memory I do and always have revered"(Spence, 158) Steele's request is conveyed in a note dated July 26th, 1711 (Elwin, vi., 387) —"I writ to you the other day, and hope you have received my letter This is for the same end, to know whether you are at leisure to help Mr Clayton [a musical composer], that is me, to some words for music against winter "

32. Passes, by which the mind may be entered.

34. Stated, at fixed intervals Numbers, metrical systems

35 Pindar, the great Greek lyric poet (compare page 2, line 24), whose odes have such a complicated structure that for long they were supposed to have no regular structure at all Johnson says that it was Congreve who first taught English writers that Pindar's odes were regular.

By Horace, in the *Odes*, iv., 2 11, 12—

Verba devolvit numerisque fertur
Lege solutis,

"he rolls down his words, and sweeps on with numbers [measures, metres] free from law "

38 Mr Cobb, Samuel Cobb (1675-1713), a translator and versifier, educated at Christ's Hospital and Trinity College, Cambridge The rest of his life he spent as a master at his old school His writings were popular in their day, and Pope is said to have borrowed from him line 66 ("Thy stone, O Sisypheus, stands still") of the St Cecilia ode.

Page 75 17 The conclusion, &c See lines 133-4, where Pope says of Orpheus and Cecilia—

"His numbers raised a shade froth hell,
Hers lift the soul to heaven."

This is modelled on the ending of *Alexander's Feast*, where Dryden says of Timotheus and Cecilia—

"He raised a mortal to the skies ,
She drew an angel down "

In the *Life of Dryden* (page 94) Johnson criticises this on the ground that the music of Timotheus had only a metaphorical power, whilst that of Cecilia had a real effect In Pope's case the positions are reversed

24 Essay on Criticism See page 6 The lavish praise which Johnson gives it here represents the general verdict of the last century, beginning with Addison on the other hand, Dennis's disparagement of it finds support in some more recent writers such as De Quincey ("the feeblest and least interesting of Pope's writings"), and Leslie Stephen ("the obvious rules which have been the common property of all generations of critics though Pope undeniably shows singular skill in putting old truths") Mr Courthope discusses the subject at length (v, 48-70), and concludes that, in spite of incorrect observations, bad rhymes, and bad grammar, the poem must be confessed to be the first real attempt in English literature (with the exception of some of Dryden's prose prefaces) to "erect a standard of judgment founded in justice of thought and accuracy of expression, and that in the midst of doubts, perplexities, and distractions, of which we can only have a shadowy conception It is enlivened by bold brilliant, and beautiful imagery, and when it is remembered that this extraordinary soundness of judgment and maturity of style are exhibited by a young man who was only 23 when the poem was published, the panegyric of Johnson, startling as it seems, will not be thought after all to be greatly exaggerated "

35 The Comparison, &c In lines 219-232 —

' Fired at first sight with what the Muse imparts,
In fearless youth we tempt the heights of Arts,
While from the bounded level of our mind
Short views we take, nor see the lengths behind
But, more advanced, behold with strange surprise
New distant scenes of endless science rise !
So pleased at first the towering Alps we try,
Mount o'er the vales, and seem to tread the sky,
The eternal snows appear already past,
And the first clouds and mountains seem the last ,
But, those attained, we tremble to survey
The growing labours of the lengthened way,
The increasing prospect tires our wandering eyes,
Hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on Alps arise "

Page 76 3 In heroics, in epic poetry, which celebrates the deeds of heroes

7 Episode, properly, a subordinate incident or narrative, introduced into the main story by way of giving it more variety

8 Having no parallels, in the circumstances which the simile was intended to illustrate

9 Perrault, Charles Perrault (1628-1703), a French writer, chiefly famous for his fairy tales He also published a work on the Ancients and Moderns, in which he took the side of the latter, and thus drew down upon himself the wrath of Boileau.

11 The ship-race, &c. Compare Virgil, *Æneid*, v, 142-147 — "The water's surface is dashed up by the oars and three-headed prows Not so rapid in the two-horsed race are the chariots, when they scour the plain, and rush forward from the starting-point," &c

13 Apollo, the sun-god, and patron of music and poetry He was said to have become enamoured of the nymph Daphne, who fled from him and crying to Heaven in her distress was transformed into a laurel-tree (Greek *daphne*) She was the daughter of the river-god Peneus, in Thessaly The reference is to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, i, 533-539, a passage thus translated by Dryden (i, 718, *seq*)—

"As when the impatient greyhound, slipt from far,
Bounds o'er the glebe to course the fearful hare,
She in her speed does all her safety lay,
And he with double speed pursues the prey

* * * *

If little things with great we may compare,
Such was the god, and such the flying fair "

21 The celebrated paragraph, in the *Essay on Criticism*, 364-383 .—

" 'Tis not enough no harshness gives offence,
The sound must seem an echo to the sense
Soft is the strain when Zephyr gently blows,
And the smooth stream in smoother numbers flows ,
But when loud surges lash the sounding shore,
The hoarse rough verse should like the torrent roar," &c

25 Representative, so constructed as to represent or echo the sense

30. Some words, now called examples of *onomatopœia*

34 Dactylic A *dactyl* was a metrical foot consisting of a long syllable followed by two short

The learned languages, Greek and Latin

40 Cadence, the rhythmical modulation of the voice in reading or speaking

Page 77 7 Sisyphus, a legendary king of Corinth, in Greece, notorious for his avarice and fraudulence Hence, after death, he was punished by having for ever to roll a huge stone up a steep hill, down which the stone would plunge again as soon as Sisyphus got it to the top Homer's description of this (*Odyssey*, xi, 593-600) is a passage well-known for the way in which the metre is adapted to the sense

8 With many a weary step, from the translation of the *Odyssey*, xi, 733, a book professedly translated by Broome (see notes to page 32)

10. Resulting, used in the sense of the Latin *resultare*, to spring back, rebound

18. Surely lost much, &c. "Certainly, but the 'numbers' are no longer the same The vowels, especially in the concluding Alexandrine, are now mainly close short vowels instead of long ones, *a* and *e* instead of *o*. Notice, too, that many of the aspirates have disappeared, notice the substitution of *merry* (the first syllable of which cannot be prolonged) for *weary*, of *tale* for *step*, of the trisyllabic *impatient* for *impetuous*, a slurred tetrasyllable, and so on The truth is, Johnson's ear was not quick enough to perceive metrical effects of any degree of subtlety" (Ryland).

23 When Ajax strives, &c , from the *Essay on Criticism*, 370-373, the lines immediately succeeding the passage quoted in the note to page 76, line 21. Johnson cuts the first couplet down—

"When Ajax strives some rock's vast weight to throw,
The line too labours, and the words move slow."

Ajax, one of the Greek heroes at the siege of Troy In the *Iliad*, vii., 268-9, Homer describes his lifting and hurling of a great stone, a passage thus translated by Pope (vii ,320-2) —

"Then Ajax seized the fragment of a rock,
Applied each nerve, and swinging round on high,
With force tempestuous let the ruin fly "

24 Camilla, a warrior maiden who fights for the Latins against Æneas and his followers in the *Æneid*, book xi Her wonderful speed of foot is described in vii , 808-811, but (by Virgil) in a *potential* manner only, i e , it was so great that, seeing her, you might have expected her to fly over the standing corn without bending it, or over the waves without wetting her feet. Pope carries the exaggeration further by stating it as a fact

Scours, passes quickly over

25 Skims the main, glides swiftly along the surface of the sea

29 Waller was smooth, &c From the *Imitations of 'Horace, Epistles*, ii , 1 267-9

35 By one time longer Johnson apparently refers to the word *the*, which is more or less slurred in pronunciation before *unbending*

36 Are fancied, exist only in the imagination of the reader Addison, on the other hand, speaks more favourably of them, in the *Spectator*, No 253, where he refers to Pope's lines and to Homer's account of Sisyphus, and then adds — "It would be endless to quote verses out of Virgil which have this particular kind of beauty in the numbers "

37 Nugatory, trifling, of no serious importance from the Latin *nugae*, trifles

Elwin points out (ii , 27) that Johnson need not have looked for another instance of the Alexandrine at the interval of thirty years it might have been found only fifteen lines earlier in the *Essay on Criticism*—"That like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along"(line 357) "The juxtaposition was doubtless deliberate for the purpose of illustrating the opposite movements of sluggishness and celerity Johnson misunderstood the theory The Alexandrine was not supposed to represent *speed* but *space* A long line being presumed to suggest the notion of a long distance, the retarded or accelerated motion was intended to be expressed by the slow or rapid syllables of which the line was composed The end was not answered, because, as Johnson remarks, the break in the middle of the Alexandrine is antagonistic to haste . and he has equally shown that Pope was not happy in the application of his mistaken rule The slow march outstrips the swift Camilla, who is even left behind by the wounded snake in the first half of the line "

38 The Rape of the Lock See page 10.

40. Of that which, &c Grammatically, this depends on *the power of pleasing*

Page 78. 2 From what sources, &c "Johnson seems to derive its charm entirely from the machinery, as though it came from the novelty of the invention that substituted the interference of the Sylphs in human affairs for that of the heathen deities Hazlitt, with more discrimination, places it rather in the *atmosphere* of the poem as a whole. It still remains for criticism to point out the exact nature of Pope's design, and to show by comparison how incomparably superior it is to the other European master-pieces of the same class," namely, Tassoni's *Secchia Rapita* ("Rape of the Bucket," 1622), Boileau's *Lutrin* (1674), and Garth's *Dispensary* (1699) see Courthope, v, 97, *seq*

8. Venus, the Roman goddess of Love. Diana, the moon-goddess, a virgin deity, also the patron of hunters, &c.

14. Sylphs, according to the Rosicrucians (see page 11), were fairies inhabiting the air, whilst *gnomes* inhabited the interior of the earth, where they kept watch over mines, buried treasures, &c

Toilet, dressing-table.

18. By an objector, Joseph Warton But Pope himself refers to the Rosicrucian doctrine in his preface to the poem : see the note to page 11, line 21.

37 A female day, a day as spent by a lady.

Page 79. 1 As he tells us, in the Dedication (Globe edition, page 69)— "It was intended only to divert a few young ladies, who have good sense and good humour enough to laugh not only at their sex's little unguarded follies, but at their own " Its "moral" is clearly enough expressed in *Clarissa's* speech (canto v, 9-34), ending with the lines—

" Beauties in vain their pretty eyes may roll
Charms strike the sight, but merit wins the soul "

4. The *Lutrin*, a mock-heroic poem by the French poet Boileau, first published in 1674 It is based on a dispute amongst the clergy of a certain cathedral as to the position of a reading-desk (*lutrin*), and this Boileau converted into a satire on the indolence, sensuality, and pride of the cathedral clergy in the time of Louis XIV

8. Freaks, capricious fancies Humours, changing and uncertain states of mind Spleen, an organ of the body, lying near the stomach, and supposed at one time to be the seat of ill-humour and melancholy. Shakespeare seems to use the word outright in the sense of 'freak' or 'whim,' as in *Venus and Adonis*, 907 —"A thousand spleens bear her a thousand ways."

9. Embroil, involve in disputes and quarrels.

15. The machinery is superfluous, &c. "Of this objection it may be said that even the gods in Homer cannot avert the inevitable, and that therefore it is not to be wondered at that beings with inferior powers, like the Sylphs, should be unable to save the lock But Pope did not introduce his machines with a view to influence the action of the poem, which was complete without them, but partly in order to point the satire by adding fresh dignity to the trifling details of which it was composed, and partly to heighten the beauty and brilliancy of the general effect " (Courthope, v., 109).

22 Ombre, a game at cards, then very much in fashion it was borrowed from the Spaniards, and was usually played by three persons See *Rape of the Lock*, 111, 25-100 Courthope points out that Belinda's victory in the game of ombre is required in order to heighten the effect of the subsequent catastrophe, and the description of the game he regards as the finest passage in the whole poem

27 Eloisa to Abelard, See page 12

38 Ranges, wanders.

Page 80 2 Curiosa felicitas, diligent felicity, or happy diligence, a phrase applied to Horace by Petronius Arbiter, a writer of the first century A D

5 Mystic. The mystics professed to enjoy direct intercourse with the Divine Spirit, and so to acquire a knowledge of spiritual things, unattainable by the natural intellect and incapable of being explained

6 The learned author, Joseph Warton.

14 The barbarians, a term used by the Greeks to include all who were not of Greek race, and whose language therefore was unintelligible to them

18 Anguillara, Giovanni Anguillara, an Italian dramatist of the last half of the 16th century, who also translated the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid.

19 Salvini, Antonio Maria Salvini (1654-1751), a scholar and poet of Florence Spence (67, 68) tells us that Dean Lockier spent some time with Salvini, and reported him to have "translated all the Greek poets throughout his translations are very close, and would serve as excellent comments on several parts of their works"

21 Linguist, a person skilled in languages. from the Latin *lingua*, tongue, language

25 Tully, Marcus Tullius Cicero, the celebrated orator (106-43 B C.) He translated into Latin the astronomical poem of the Greek Aratus; and many of his philosophical writings are little more than translations or paraphrases of Greek originals

Germanicus, the name by which the nephew and adopted son of the emperor Tiberius is best known He commanded the Roman army in Germany for some time, but was sent to the East in 17 A D, and died prematurely in Syria in 19 He was the father of the emperor Caligula, and of Agrippina, mother of Nero Like Cicero, Germanicus is said to have translated Aratus, but this is somewhat doubtful Suetonius and Pliny, however, speak of him as an orator and a poet

26 Terence, Publius Terentius Afer (died 159 B C), one of the two great comic dramatists of Rome Six of his plays (probably all that he wrote) have survived to our own time, but with all his critical and artistic genius, Terence seems to have been devoid of creative originality, for his dramas were wholly borrowed from Menander (B C 342-291), an Athenian, and the chief representative of the New Comedy of Greece, which flourished from about 323 to 250 B C Menander was the author of a hundred plays, but all have perished with the exception of scanty fragments, so that his genius has to be estimated from the works of his imitator, Terence

28 The Meridian hour, i.e., the period when it reached its highest point.

36 Part of the Debt, &c. Virgil had borrowed from Homer, and now the translator of Homer borrowed from the translator of Virgil

Page 8r 7 Objected by some, e.g., the great scholar Bentley, who is said to have remarked—"It is a pretty poem, Mr Pope, but you must not call it Homer "

12 Necessitas, &c, "Necessity excuses that which it compels "

40. Ovidian graces, such elegances as grace the poetry of Publius Ovidius Naso, commonly known as Ovid, a Roman poet (43 B C —18 A D).

41. To have added, &c Such a principle of translation would hardly be accepted at the present day, nor is it in accordance with the canon laid down by Johnson in the *Idler* of August 11th, 1759 (No 69) —"He will deserve the highest praise who can give a representation at once faithful and pleasing, who can convey the same thoughts with the same graces, and who, when he translates, changes nothing but the language "

Page 82 4 Cavils, captious and frivolous objections

20 Its terms, a set of technical terms peculiar to it

26 By Broome. See page 32

28 The Dunciad. See page 34

29 MacFlecknoe, a poem published in 1682, to ridicule Shadwell. The name means "Son of Flecknoe," and Shadwell is represented as the adopted son of Richard Flecknoe, a worthless poet who died in 1678, and whom Dryden depicts as bequeathing to Shadwell his supremacy in the realms of Dulness. Pope, apparently, originally intended to give his poem the name *Dulness*

35 His Shakespeare See pages 31, 32

Page 83 5 Impune diem, &c, "lengthy *Telephus* will waste a whole day with impunity," from Juvenal, *Satires*, 1, 4 The poet is complaining of the wearisome recitations of their works by inferior poets, which it was the fashion to attend at Rome, and takes an imaginary tragedy on the story of Telephus as an example

7 Moore, James Moore, who afterwards added the surname of Smythe (died 1734) He was intimate with Teresa and Martha Blount, and the author of a play called *The Rival Modes*, into which he introduced without acknowledgment six lines written by Pope. Pope in revenge introduced the initials J M amongst the Frogs, in the treatise on Bathos (see pages 35, 36), and ridiculed Moore in the *Dunciad*, 11, 35-50, where Dulness constructs "a Poet's form" as a prize for the booksellers' race—

"All as a partridge plump, full-fed, and fair,
She formed this image of well-body'd air,
With pert flat eyes she windowed well its head,
A brain of feathers, and a heart of lead;
And empty words she gave, and sounding strain,
But senseless, lifeless' idol void and vain!
Never was dashed out, at one lucky hit,
A fool so just a copy of a wit,
So like that critics said, and courtiers swore
A Wit it was, and called the phantom Moore "

8 Bentley Compare page 66, line 36

Priam, the aged king of Troy, at the time of its siege by the Greeks. When the latter entered the city, Priam armed himself, and "hurled his

feeble forceless spear" at Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, but "it was at once repelled by the ringing brass, and ineffectually dropped from the outermost fold of the shield" (Virgil, *Æneid*, 11, 544).

17 The formation of Moore See the passage quoted in the note to line 7 above and for his dissolution, *Dunciad*, 11, 109-120. Curl wins the booksellers' race and tries to secure the prize, viz, the figure of Moore—

"And now the victor stretched his eager hand,
Where the tall Nothing stood, or seem'd to stand,
A shapeless shade, it melted from his sight,
Like forms in clouds, or visions of the night
To seize his papers, Curl, was next thy care,
His papers light fly diverse, tossed in air,
Songs, sonnets, epigrams, the winds uplift
And whisk' em back to Evans, Young, and Swift
The embroidered suit at least he deemed his prey,
That suit an unpaid tailor snatched away
No rag, no scrap, of all the bean, or wit,
That once so fluttered, and that once so writ "

18. Account of the traveller, i.e, the travelled Dunce, in book iv., 279-336.

Florist, a cultivator of, or dealer in, flowers See book iv., 403-418—

"Fair from its humble bed I reared this flower,
Suckled, and cheered with air and sun and shower,
Soft on the paper ruff its leaves I spread,
Bright with the gilded button tipped its head,
Then throned in glass, and named it Caroline.
Each maid cried, Charming! and each youth, Divine!

* * * *

Now prostrate, dead, behold that Caroline:
No maid cries, Charming! and no youth, Divine!
And, lo, the wretch whose vile, whose insect lust
Laid this gay daughter of the spring in dust, " &c ,

the accused person having spoilt the flower in catching a butterfly which had settled on it

19 The concluding paragraph, Book iv, 627-656, where the restoration of the "dread empire" of "Chaos old" is described, ending with the lines—

"Thy hand, great Anarch, lets the curtain fall,
And universal Darkness buries All."

Boswell records an occasion (in 1769) when Johnson "repeated to us, in his forcible melodious manner, the concluding lines of the *Dunciad*," and adds that Langton once related to Johnson that Pope himself admired those lines so much that when he repeated them his voice faltered "and well it might, Sir (said Johnson), for they are noble lines " Thackeray, also, in his lecture on Pope remarks that, in his opinion, "in these astonishing lines Pope reaches to the very greatest height which his sublime art has attained, and shows himself the equal of all poets of all times."

22 The present collection, the edition of the English poets for which Johnson wrote these lives Mr. Ryland retains this explanation, though in his text he reads *the last collection* which does not seem to fit it.

24. Essay on Man. See page 42.

25. Happiest, most successful.

30 He tells us, in *Epistle 1*, 43-50:—

"Of Systems possible, if 'tis confest
That Wisdom infinite must form the best,
Where all must full or not coherent be,
And all that rises rise in due degree;
Then, in the scale of reasoning life, 'tis plain
There must be, somewhere, such a rank as Man:
And all the question (wrangle e'er so long)
Is only this, If God has placed him wrong "

35. Leibnitzian reasoning, reasoning after the manner of the celebrated German mathematician and philosopher, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646-1716), in his *Theodicee* (1710), or Vindication of the dealings of God with man (Greek *theos*, God, *dikaios*, just). Leibnitz dealt with the goodness of God, the free-will of man, and the origin of evil, endeavouring to show that this world was the best possible, and that man, not God, was responsible for the existence, at any rate, of moral evil. such a system is called Optimistic.

39. Had been, would have been.

Page 84. 5 From infinite to nothing. See *Epistle 1*, 237-241:—

"Vast chain of Being! which from God began,
Natures ethereal, human, angel, man,
Beast, bird, fish, insect, what no eye can see,
No glass can reach, from Infinite to thee,
From thee to Nothing."

8. Though we are fools See the concluding lines of *Epistle 11* —

"See, and confess, one comfort still must rise,
'Tis this, Tho' Man's a fool, yet God is wise."

9. Egregious, remarkable, surpassing (the Latin *egregius*); now always used in a bad sense, as in "an egregious mistake"

11. Vulgarity, from *vulgar* in the sense of common-place

14 Knows, &c, recognises what he heard in his very infancy, though Pope now produces it as something new and original

25 Self-interest, &c, because experience soon shows that our own welfare is best secured by paying some regard to the welfare of those around us

29. A great part to play on the stage of life. the word is used in its theatrical sense

Page 85. 4 Characters of Men and Women, forming *Moral Essays*, i., 11 see pages 91-93

8 Boileau's Satire, the tenth, which is on the same subject.

13 The Gem and the Flower. See *Moral Essays*, i, 141-148.—

"Court-virtues bear, like gems, the highest rate,
Born where Heaven's influence scarce can penetrate:
In life's low vale, the soil the Virtues like,
They please as beauties, here as wonders strike.

Though the same Sun with all-diffusive rays
Blush in the rose, and in the diamond blaze,
We prize the stronger effort of his power,
And justly set the gem above the flower."

15 Atossa. See page 49, line 18

Clodio is the name given in the *Argument* prefixed to *Epistle* i, and in the earlier editions, but in the present text Wharton is substituted *i e.*, Philip, Duke of Wharton, who, after a madly dissipated career, died as a monk in a Spanish convent, in 1731 See *Moral Essays*, i, 180-207.

17 Philomede See *Epistle* ii, 69-86 The character is intended for the Duchess of Marlborough—not the famous Sarah, wife of the first Duke, but their daughter Henrietta, who was Duchess in her own right, and who married the Earl of Godolphin Pope censures her for low tastes—

"So Philomede, lecturing all mankind
On the soft passion, and the taste refined,
The address, the delicacy—stoops at once,
And makes her hearty meal upon a dunce"

Prior, Matthew Prior, the poet see page 12, line 23 Johnson speaks of his fondness for low company in his *Life of Prior*—"Tradition represents him as willing to descend from the dignity of the poet and statesman to the low delights of mean company . . . Of his propensity to sordid converse I have seen an account so seriously ridiculous that it seems to deserve insertion 'I have been assured that Prior, after having spent the evening with Oxford, Bolingbroke, Pope, and Swift, would go and smoke a pipe, and drink a bottle of ale, with a common soldier and his wife, before he went to bed'"

18 The Epistles, &c, *Moral Essays*, iii, iv See pages 38, 47

20 Has printed that first, &c *Epistle* iv was published in 1731, *Epistle* iii in 1733 but, as Cunningham points out, Warburton only followed the arrangement made by Pope himself in 1735, at least four years before he knew Warburton In the edition of that year the four moral essays are arranged as we now have them

22 Elogy, a panegyric or eulogy, *i e.*, praise bestowed on a person or thing, the French *éloge*, a funeral panegyric, from the Latin *elogium*. Some editions (such as Cunningham's) have corrupted the word into *elegy*, which is nonsense here

The passage referred to occurs in *Moral Essays*, iv, 41-47 —

"Something there is more needful than expense,
And something previous even to taste—'tis Sense
Good Sense, which only is the gift of Heaven,
And, though no science, fairly worth the seven," &c

23 The Duke of Buckingham, George Villiers, the second Duke, son of James the First's favourite He squandered his enormous fortune in riotous living, and died in 1687 in the house of one of his tenants in a Yorkshire village His end is described by Pope, with some exaggeration, in *Moral Essays*, iii, 299-314—

"In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half-hung,
The floors of plaster, and the wall of dung,
On once a flock-bed, but repaired with straw,
With tape-tied curtains, never meant to draw,
The George and Garter dangling from that bed,
Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,
Great Villiers lies—alas! how changed from him,
That life of pleasure, and that soul of whim," &c.

- 24 Epistle to Arbuthnot See page 50
28. Occasional, a work executed on some special occasion
- 30 The poet's vindication, &c , lines 125, *seq*
31. Sporus, Lord Hervey* see page 50 and notes there
32. The two poems, called '1738' see page 51
- 34 Savage See note to page 12, line 23
- In the whole. We now say 'on the whole '

- 36 The dignity of Vice, in *Dialogue 1* , 114-130 —

"Virtue, I grant you, is an empty boast,
But shall the dignity of Vice be lost ?

*

*

*

This, this, my friend, I cannot, must not bear,
Vice thus abused demands a nation's care ,
This calls the Church to deprecate our sin,
And hurls the thunder of the laws on gin "

37. The triumph of Corruption, lines 151-170 .—

"Lo, at the wheels of her triumphal car
Old England's Genius, rough with many a scar,
Dragged in the dust ' his arms hang idly round,
His flag inverted trails along the ground !

*

*

*

*

Hear her black trumpet through the land proclaim,
That not to be corrupted is the shame," &c

- 38 Imitations of Horace See page 49.

Page 86 8 Party-coloured, or parti-coloured, coloured in different ways, variegated in colour.

13 Extrinsic, external, not connected with the essence of the subject. The meaning of *adventitious* is similar

19 Ethic Epistles, 1 &c , the Moral Essays The title was intended to be given to the more extensive work which Pope once designed but never fully carried out , the *Essay on Man* representing the first part of it, and the *Moral Essays* as much as was completed of the fourth part (compare page 53)

21 Concomitants, the circumstances which *accompany* it without belonging to it, its *accidents* (in the logical sense)

33. Too uniformly musical, &c This has been the general verdict of the most recent critics, who prefer the greater variety to be found in Dryden "The sameness of Pope's metre was the reason that 'every warbler' imitated it so readily There was a complexity in the incessant rise and fall of Dryden's lines which mechanical verse-makers could only copy imperfectly. The uniformity of Pope gave them little trouble " (Elwin, 1 , 250)

- 41 Boileau See note to page 50, line 5

Page 87 3 Prescription, a legal term for a right acquired by long use or possession.

4. Swift's remonstrances, as in his letter of June 28, 1715 (Elwin, vii, 10)—"I borrowed your Homer from the bishop, and read it out in two evenings. If it pleases others as well as me, you have got your end in profit and reputation. Yet I am angry at some bad rhymes and triplets, and pray in your next do not let me have so many unjustifiable rhymes to *war and gods*."

5 Consonance, agreement of sounds

7 Alexandrines, verses of *twelve* syllables, in place of the normal *ten* of the heroic metre. The name comes to us from French, where its derivation is disputed, some attributing it to Alexandre de Paris, an old poet, who wrote in this metre, others to the fact that certain old poems on Alexander the Great were composed in it. A *triplet* consists of three verses rhyming together, instead of the normal couplet. In a letter to a Mr. Thomas Beach, of April 12, 1735 (Scott's *Swift*, xviii, 269), Swift speaks of a triplet as "a vicious way of rhyming, wherewith Dryden abounded, and was imitated by all the bad versifiers in Charles the Second's reign. Dryden likewise brought in the Alexandrine verse at the end of the triplets. I was so angry at these corruptions that, about 24 years ago, I banished them all by one triplet, with the Alexandrine, upon a very ridiculous subject. I absolutely did prevail with Mr. Pope, and Gay, and Dr. Young, and one or two more, to reject them. Mr. Pope never used them till he translated Homer, which was too long a work to be so very exact in." Pope speaks disrespectfully of the "needless Alexandrine" in the *Essay on Criticism*, 356, and his later poems contain very few of them. The subject is discussed at some length by Johnson in the *Life of Dryden*, pages 100-102.

12 Except once Johnson probably alludes to the *Rape of the Lock*, iii., 153-4—

"The meeting points the sacred hair dissever
From the fair head, for ever and for ever."

13 Expletives, words not required by the sense, but added merely to fill up the line. Compare Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, 346-7—

"While expletives their feeble aid do join,
And ten low words oft creep in one dull line."

One of the commonest cases of this defect is the use of the words *do* and *did*, as in the first line of this couplet.

15. Six first lines. Mr. Ryland draws attention to the fact that a writer of the present day would say 'the first six lines,' though the other was the order preferred by the writers of the last century. The present usage certainly seems more logical, for there can only be *one* first line in the *Iliad*, whereas there are many groups of *six lines*, of which we here wish to draw attention to the *first*.

The six lines are—

"Achilles' wrath, to Greece the direful spring
Of woes unnumbered, heavenly goddess, sing!
That wrath which hurled to Pluto's gloomy reign
The souls of mighty chiefs untimely slain,
Whose limbs unburied on the naked shore
Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore."

The epithets which Johnson says might be omitted without much loss are, presumably, *direful*, *heavenly*, *gloomy*, *mighty*, *naked*, and *hungry*.

22. Lo, where Mæotis, &c., from the *Dunciad*, iii, 87, 88 *Mæotis*, now the Sea of Azov, to the north of the Black Sea.

Tanaïs, now the river Don, which flows into the Sea of Azov.

25. Watts, Dr. Isaac Watts (1674-1748), a clergyman best known as the author of a number of hymns, though he also wrote a work on Logic, and another on the *Improvement of the Mind*.

31. Hall, Joseph Hall (1574-1656), Bishop of Exeter, and then of Norwich, whose *Humble Remonstrance* (1641) provoked the pamphlet by "Smectymnuus," and a heated controversy with Milton. In early life (1597), before he rose to ecclesiastical eminence, Hall published a collection of coarse but forcible satires, under the name of *Virgidentiae*, literally, "harvests of rods," i. e., of blows.

38. Has once been asked, by Joseph Warton, in his Essay on Pope (1756), in which, not content with maintaining didactic and satiric poetry to be inferior to epic and dramatic, he constantly indicates a view that the former are not entitled to rank as poetry at all.

Page 88. 5 The wreath of poetry, an expression derived from the ancient practice of crowning poets with wreaths of laurel, myrtle, or ivy.

6 Pretensions, claims

7 His version, the translation of Homer.

11. Lord Hardwicke, Philip Yorke (1720-1790), second Earl of Hardwicke.

12. Mr. Jodrell, Richard Paul Joddrel, a member of parliament, and one of the Essex-Street Club instituted by Johnson in 1783. He died in 1831.

13. Mr. Bridges, the Revd Ralph Bridges, a nephew of Pope's friend Sir William Trumbull (see page 35), and for a time domestic chaplain to the Bishop of London, who in 1713 presented him to a living in Essex, where he died in 1758.

24. Chapman and Hobbes. See page 17, line 9, and notes.

37. Squares with, exactly fits, or agrees with.

Page 90. 1. The Visitor, a monthly journal called *The Universal Visitor*, published by a bookseller named Gardner. "I wrote," said Johnson to Boswell, "for some months in the *Universal Visitor* for poor Smart, while he was mad, not then knowing the terms on which he was engaged to write, and thinking I was doing him good. I hoped his wits would soon return to him. Mine returned to me, and I wrote in the *Universal Visitor* no longer." The essay on Pope's Epitaphs was written in 1756.

6. At this visit, alluding to the title of the periodical.

13. Stone, i. e., tomb-stone.

16. Charles, &c., Charles Sackville, Lord Dorset (1637-1706), a descendant of the noble author of the *Mirror for Magistrates* and *Corbodus*. He served against the Dutch in the time of Charles II, but afterwards became a favourite with William III. He was the friend and patron of Prior, and himself gained a place amongst Johnson's *Lives*.

23. Lay, song, verses, poetry.

P. 18.

31. Buckhursts. This was a subordinate title held by the Earls of Dorset.

Page 91 1 The scourge of pride "Johnson has passed over the awkward and unharmonious recurrence of *pride* in the first and third lines" (Cunningham)

10 Not first bestowed by Pope It was probably suggested by Lord Rochester's lines—

"For pointed satire I would Buckhurst choose,
The best good man with the worst-natured Muse"

32 Burlesque, a ludicrous imitation of some serious performance

Page 92 1 Sir William Trumbal See page 4 The first six lines of this epitaph were originally written for John, Lord Caryll (died 1711), secretary to the wife of James II (see note to page 10, line 39)

Page 93 1 Impertinent, not pertinent to the subject, inappropriate, or not to the point

3 The poor conspirator, Major John Bernardi (1657-1736), the son of an Italian nobleman who had settled in England He fought on the English side in Holland (1674-1687), and after the Revolution sided for a time with James II In 1696 he was arrested in London on suspicion of being concerned in a plot to murder William III, but there being no positive evidence against him he was never brought to trial Instead, in violation of those rights which William claimed to have come to England to defend, the unhappy Bernardi was left in prison until his death in 1736

5 Had been, would have been

9 Simon Harcourt (1684-1720), second and only surviving son of Simon, first Viscount Harcourt The father (died 1727) was a Tory lawyer, raised to the peerage in 1711, and Lord Chancellor from April, 1713, to September, 1714 The son was educated at Oxford and entered parliament in 1710: he was a young man of considerable promise, but died in France in 1720

14. But friendship, &c, without allowing his friends to share it

15 Or gave, &c This thought has been often repeated, perhaps the best-known instance being that of Louis XIV, who on the death of his Queen, in 1683, was heard to say, 'Is it possible that she should be dead, and that I should lose her for ever? she who never gave me the least trouble besides this of her death' It even occurs on a Roman tombstone, and Courthope (iv 383) quotes other examples

21 To which, 2 e, to secure which

28 James Craggs See note to page 19, line 1 The Latin part of the inscription means "James Craggs, Secretary to the King of Great Britain, and Privy Councillor, a favourite alike with Prince and People. he lived, superior to titles and to envy, thirty-five (alas, too few) years, and died February 16th, 1720."

The English lines originally formed a panegyric on Craggs at the conclusion of the "Epistle to Mr Addison, occasioned by his *dialogues on Medals*" In using them for the epitaph Pope altered the last line, which had originally run—"And praised, unenvied, by the Muse he loved" (Globe edition, page 265)

Page 94 27 Mr Rowe, Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718), a poet and dramatist, whose first tragedy (*The Ambitious Stepmother*) was produced in

1700. On the accession of George I he was made Poet-Laureate; and other profitable offices were bestowed upon him, for he was a general favourite, but he did not live long to enjoy them. He also translated Lucan's *Pharsalia*, and edited Shakespeare.

The epitaph originally consisted only of the first four lines given by Johnson: then the other four were added, and subsequent changes were made, until the lines now run as follows—

"Thy reliques, Rowe, to this sad shrine we trust,
And near thy Shakespeare place thy honoured bust
Oh! next him, skilled to draw the tender tear,
For never heart felt passion more sincere;
To nobler sentiment to fire the brave,
For never Briton more disdained a slave
Peace to thy gentle shade, and endless rest,
Blest in thy genius, in thy love, too, blest!
And blest that, timely from our scene removed,
Thy soul enjoys the liberty it loved
To thee, so mourned in death, so loved in life,
The childless parent and the widowed wife
With tears inscribes this monumental stone,
That holds thine ashes, and expects her own "

35. One grateful woman, Rowe's widow.

Page 95 5 Mrs. Corbet, the daughter of Sir Uvedale Corbett. She died in 1724, and a monument to her memory was placed in St Margaret's Church, Westminster.

23 Volatile, light-hearted and changeable, easily flying from one thing to another.

27. Even is the adjective Tenor, uniform course

34. A lady, "Mary Aston, daughter of Sir Thomas Aston," Bart. (Cunningham).

38 Robert Digby, a man who frequently corresponded with Pope between 1717 and 1725, and who died in 1726. His sister died in 1729, so that the date given in the heading here must be wrong. Robert was the second son, and Mary the eldest daughter, of William, fifth Lord Digby (1661—1752).

Page 96 10 Mortal Pope wrote "moral "

26. Have no character at all. From the opening lines of Pope's *Moral Essays*, 11 (Globe edition, page 236) —

"Nothing so true as what you once let fall,
'Most women have no characters at all ' "

Page 97 2. Borrowed from Dryden, from the Ode to the Memory of Mrs. Anne Killigrew, 14, 15 —

"Thou wilt have time enough for hymns divine,
Since Heaven's eternal year is thine "

5 Sir Godfrey Kneller, a German portrait-painter (1648—1723), introduced to Charles II. by the Duke of Monmouth in 1678. He was Court painter to Charles, James, William, Anne, and George I, the last of whom made him a baronet and his sisters included almost everybody of rank or eminence in his day. Pope told Spence—"I paid Sir Godfrey

Kneller a visit but two days before he died, I think I never saw a scene of so much vanity in my life. He was lying in bed, and contemplating the plan he had made for his own monument. He said he should not like to lie among the rascals at Westminster, a memorial there would be sufficient, and desired me to write an epitaph for it. I did so afterwards, and I think it is the worst thing I ever wrote in my life" (Spence, 165)

16 Raphael, Raffaello Sanzio (1483—1520), the greatest of the famous Italian painters, and one who has steadily maintained his pre-eminent reputation. Though he died at the age of 37, the work he produced was extraordinary, both in its quantity, and versatility.

On Raphael's tomb in the Pantheon at Rome is placed a Latin epigram by Cardinal Bembo, consisting of the two lines virtually translated by Pope—

" Ille hic est Raphael, timuit quo sospite vinci
Rerum magna parens, et moriente mori "

Harsh construction, since *living* and *dying* would more naturally qualify *Nature*

19 Henry Withers. He had served during the great wars against France, in Ireland, the Netherlands, and Germany, and died at the age of 78 in 1729. The monument to his memory was erected by "his companion in the wars and his friend through life, Henry Disney." Both Withers and Disney were friends of Pope.

35 Peculiarity of a profession, *z e*, the subject of the epitaph belonged to a special profession (that of a soldier), and therefore special references can be introduced, in place of mere vague generalities.

Page 98 9 Elijah Fenton, the poet, and Pope's collaborator in translating the *Odyssey*.

19 Rose satisfy'd. Compare Horace, *Satires*, 1, 1, 117-119—"Thus rarely can we find the man who, contented with his portion of days, leaves the banquet like one who has had his fill," itself taken from Lucretius, 11, 938—*Cur non ut plenus vitæ conviva recedis?* "why do you not retire, like a guest who has had his fill of life?"

21 Crashaw, in his *Epitaph upon Mr Ashton* —

"The modest front of this small floor,
Believe me, Reader, can say more
Than many a braver marble can
Here lies a truly honest man "

Richard Crashaw (born about 1613, died in 1649) was the author of a number of Latin and English poems, both sacred and secular, which were evidently carefully studied both by Milton and Pope, and to which Shelley, Coleridge, and others, have also been indebted.

31 Mr Gay. See page 39.

35 Tempering, modifying, assuaging.

Page 99 4 Here lies Gay, *z e*, they have taken his poetry to heart; it is enshrined in their bosoms.

17 A man in wit. Curningham remarks that this is borrowed from Dryden's *Ode on Mrs Killigrew*, line 70—"Her wit was more than man, her innocence a child."

27 Gross and improper. Whatever may have been the case in Johnson's time, this use of *lash* in the sense of *satirise* would scarcely be objected to at the present day, when we speak of "lashing vice," &c.

Page 100. 5 Sir Isaac Newton, the celebrated astronomer and mathematician (1642-1727) The Latin portion of the epitaph means—"Isaac Newton, whose immortality is attested by Time, Nature, and the Heavens, whilst his mortality is confessed by this stone."

13 God said, &c Taken from *Genesis*, 1., 3—"And God said, Let there be light and there was light"

21 Edmund, Duke of Buckingham, or rather, Buckinghamshire. He was the only son of Dryden's friend and patron, John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, and then successively Marquis of Normandy and Duke of Buckinghamshire, who died in 1721

27. Had, would have similarly two lines below.

35 Chiefs or sages.....given. This is an absolute construction : the family, after giving a succession of generals and sages to its country, now gives a saint to heaven.

Page 101. 8 Dialogue between He and She, intended as an epitaph on Dr. Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, "who died in exile at Paris, 1732, his only daughter having expired in his arms, immediately after she arrived in France to see him."

She Yes, we have lived—one pang, and then we part !
May Heaven, dear Father, now have all thy heart !
Yet, ah, how once we loved, remember still,
Till you are dust like me

He. Dear Shade, I will.
Then mix this dust with thine—O spotless ghost !
O more than fortune, friends, or country lost !
Is there on earth one care, one wish beside ?
Yes—Save my country, Heaven

He said, and died.

10. Last epitaph on himself The first (published in 1738) consists of four lines only—

"Heroes and Kings, your distance keep
In peace let one poor poet sleep,
Who never flattered folks like you .
Let Horace blush, and Virgil too "

Warburton had the bad taste to place these lines on Pope's monument in Twickenham Church, in defiance of Pope's own desire, as expressed in his will.

The second epitaph was first published by Warburton in 1751.—

"Under this marble, or under this sill,
Or under this turf, or e'en what they will ;
Whatever an heir, or a friend in his stead,
Or any good creature shall lay o'er my head,
Lies one who ne'er cared, and still cares not a pin
What they said, or may say of the mortal within.
But who, living and dying, serene still and free,
Trusts in God that as well as he was he shall be "

Sill is usually applied to the piece of wood or stone which forms the lower portion of the frame of a door or window.

21. Ludovici, &c, "the bones of Ludovico Ariosto are buried under this marble, or under this earth, or under whatever has been willed by a kindly heir, or by a comrade kinder still, or by a still more opportune passer-by. For he could not foresee the future ; but his empty body was

not of such importance to him as to make him desire to prepare an urn for it in his lifetime yet this he did prepare in his lifetime, to be inscribed on his tomb, should he ever have a tomb "

32 Ariosto, Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533), one of the four greatest Italian poets , his master-piece was the *Orlando Furioso*, dealing with the wars of Charlemagne and Roland against the Saracens

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"As we read the delightful volumes of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*, the past age returns, the England of our ancestors is revived. The Maypole rises in the Strand again in London, the churches are thronged with daily worshippers, the beaux are gathering in the coffee-houses, the gentry are going to the drawing-room, the ladies are thronging to the tea-shops; the chairmen are jostling in the streets, the footmen are running with links before the chariots, or fighting round the theatre doors." *Thackeray*

JOHNSON'S LIFE OF ADDISON

WITH
INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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THE AGE OF ADDISON.

I.

It is always important for students to know something about the age in which the author whom they are studying, lived and wrote The reason for this is not far to seek. A great writer, or a group of great writers, is not an isolated phenomenon; an author is always deeply influenced by the morals, customs, and political events of his day. An author is the product, in a word, of his age and country, and his writings are a mirror in which we may see them both reflected. It is not by mere chance that Athens in the fifth century B. C., though a tiny little republic, hardly larger than some of the smallest native states in the Bombay Presidency, produced at the same time the men who beat back the countless hosts of the Great King of Iran, and the great and glorious trio,

Sophocles, Æschylus, Euripides, who wrote the immortal dramas which will live when Athens is a heap of dust. So too it is no coincidence that Elizabethan England gave birth to a Shakespeare and a Drake. The same theory may be applied with instructive results to Indian history and literature. There are some people who think that one of the least hopeful signs of the present movement in Hindustan is the fact that it has called forth no great poet or prose-writer.

A. A.

u The Augustan Age,—the Age of Addison and Swift and Pope and Dr Johnson,—is essentially an age of COMPROMISE. It is preeminently THE AGE OF COMMON-SENSE. To explain exactly how this came about, and what it means, we must refer to the history of the time. Modern history and modern politics begin for England with the expulsion of James II, the last of the Stuart Kings, in 1688. The Stuarts were really Kings, and were regarded as such by their people, in spite of their bad rule. A King has the Divine Right to govern, or misgovern, as he pleases, and there were many who were quite aware of the enormities of Stuart rule, and were at the same time cheerfully prepared to die in its defence. Such an attitude is of course sentimental and irrational, but patriotism is always pure sentiment. The patriots who upheld the Divine Right of Kings, and who wished to see the restoration of the Stuarts were mostly men of good family, who lived in the country, and were old-fashioned and simple in their views. They formed a distinct party in the state and were known as the *Tories*.

On the other hand, the 'progressive' party, who wished for the control of the Crown by the Parliament, who had been instrumental in banishing the Stuarts, and who had the upper hand in England, were drawn from the towns. They were the rich tradesmen and merchants, who wanted good Government to develop their trade, and who cared little for sentiment or theory. They formed the rival party in the State and were known as the *Whigs*. (Addison, a Whig himself, gives us a delightful picture, slightly satirical perhaps, of the old-style Tory Squire in Sir Roger de Coverley.)

After the death of the Dutch Prince William III, the Princess Anne ascended the throne. But everyone knew that this was a compromise, and that on her death the question would be re-opened, whether the Stuarts should return or whether Parliament should appoint a king who would be their nominee, and who should reign but not govern. Hence the political struggle in Queen Anne's reign was a keen one, and politicians enlisted on their sides the ablest pens

and sharpest wits to assist in the struggle. In those days, when education was confined to a limited class, even the most popular writer could hardly regard literature as a profession without the aid of a patron, a powerful nobleman who supported the writer, and in return utilized the services of his pen for the support of himself or his party. It is not difficult to imagine the 'moral effect' of a writer like Pope, who could rattle off smart epigrams about

"The right divine of kings to govern wrong,"

or still more, of a ferocious pamphleteer like Swift. Addison's satire was of a gentler quality, but none the less a valuable asset. Besides, in the Age of Commonsense, the 'inspired poet' was looked upon as rather incongruous and out of place. Hence we may note that another characteristic of the literature of the age of Addison, was its PROSAIC AND POLITICAL TURN OF THOUGHT.

Addison first attracted the notice of the politicians by his Latin poems, written while he was at Oxford. These performances, little read now, have earned the epithets of "vigorous," and "elegant" from Johnson. Indeed, we need not stop to consider his juvenile work, the only effect of which was to attract the attention of Somerset and Montague, King William's Whig Ministers. Recognizing the young poet as a possibly useful ally, they sent him abroad with a handsome pension, to complete his education. Addison's Italian visit produced some more rather immature productions, discussed at some length by Dr. Johnson; but the death of William III., and the accession of Queen Anne, put the young author's friends out of office, and he was obliged to return.

The famous Duke of Marlborough, who was now at the head of the Tory Ministry which held office during the first part of Anne's reigns, found ample scope for his warlike genius in the prosecution of the French war. Marlborough, however, soon found that the war was not likely to be popular with the people or his Tory colleagues. After all, it was a campaign waged in defence of Whig principles; Louis XIV. was the friend of the exiled Stuarts, and it was on their

behalf that he had first come into collision with the English nation. Personally, Marlborough was utterly indifferent to politics; his one passion was for self-advancement, and his aim could be best realized by the exercise of his unique genius as a general. Hence, after the great victory of Blenheim (1704), it was natural that the rising young poet should be called upon to sing the praises of the great commander, and this he did in his first great literary achievement, *The Campaign*, written at the request of Godolphin.

ign This poem, written in the frigid heroic couplets which was the standard form of heroic poetry in the Augustan age, won the author immediate fame. To us, it appears forced and artificial enough, but it is curious that Johnson does not praise more highly a poem whose finish and correctness should have appealed to his taste as a typical eighteenth century production.

Dr Johnson admits that the subject is an epic one, and that Addison's poem was the most successful of the many effusions upon the same theme. He also confesses that Addison brings out in strong relief the most striking feature in Marlborough's character,—his absolute self-forgetfulness, his calm, passionless, almost superhuman, intrepidity in the face of danger. Readers of *Esmond* will remember how Thackeray emphasises this characteristic in Marlborough. In a famous passage, Addison describes how, on the battlefield, Marlborough

Inspired repulsed battalions to engage,
And taught the doubtful battle where to rage

But the simile which created the most stir, and which the *Tatler* declared to be one of the noblest thoughts that ever entered into the heart of man, was conceived in a higher strain

So when an angel by divine command
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
(Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past)
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast,
And, pleased the Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm

Johnson, however, with a rare discernment points out that this "gem of Augustan poesy" is not only technically deficient

as a simile, but is also commonplace, even puerile, in conception. "Eight schoolboys out of ten might very well have written it."

However, this "prize poem" achieved its end, it won for its author a lucrative post and an assured reputation

Passing over the now forgotten opera of *Rosamund*, (with its complement to the great Duke), which won Johnson's high encomiums, we come to his really great drama *Cato*, begun during as early as 1701, but not staged till 1713. The plot of the play is taken from the story of the younger Cato, who, when the army of the Roman republicans was defeated at Thapsus, committed suicide at Utica (46 B C) after spending the night reading Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the Soul. As Macaulay says, Cato does not compare with the great Roman tragedies of Shakespeare. It is fairer to compare it with the masterpieces of Racine and Corneille. Voltaire's criticism, that Addison was "the first composer of a regular tragedy in English" is very pertinent, for it contains many fine speeches of the declamatory order, notably the magnificent soliloquy of Cato, beginning

It must be so, Plato,—thou reason'st well!
and containing those immortal lines upon the Soul,

The stars shall fade away, the Sun himself
Grow dim with age, and nature sink in years,
But thou shalt flourish in immortal youth,
Unhurt amid the war of elements,
The wrecks of matter, and the crush of worlds

Critics have failed to do justice to this superb speech, with its inevitable suggestion of a comparison with Hamlet's

"To be or not to be, that is the question"

Johnson wastes little time over the æsthetic aspects of *Cato*. He quotes *in extenso* the spiteful but ingenious criticisms of Dennis, adding, however, that "*Cato* is read and the critic is neglected" If this is so, we can hardly consider that Johnson was justified in perpetuating unjust strictures which would otherwise have sunk into the oblivion they deserved. The remarks of Dennis are mostly directed to the internal

economy of the play, its antecedent improbability, and other points which have little weight with modern readers Johnson admits that *Cato* is the "noblest of Addison's poems" He considers, and perhaps justly, that it is a poem in dialogue rather than a drama, in fact, that it lacks dramatic force. Against this, it may be urged that its success on the famous and oft-described first night has never been paralleled in the history of the stage. This was, however, partly due to the intensity of party feeling; in Cæsar, the great dictator, enslaving Rome by his legions and the mandate of a deluded mob, the audience fancied they saw a thinly veiled allusion to the dreaded Captain-General Addison probably, as a matter of fact, had no intention to introduce any political allegory into *Cato*. He systematically eschewed politics, (as far as possible in a political age) in his writings, and the play had been begun years ago.

Johnson, on the whole, does not consider Addison to be 'a great poet' Finished his work undoubtedly was, never dull, never absurd, but it was without life. It lacked the felicity of diction, the daring, originality, and loftiness of sentiment which distinguishes the inspired poet from the scholarly writer of verse. HE THINKS JUSTLY, BUT HE THINKS FAINTLY, is Johnson's verdict; but, as he says, there are many single passages which will furnish exceptions The great speech of Cato, before referred to, is a case in point.

II

But, (however much the excited audiences might applaud), it is not as a dramatist, still less as a poet, that Addison will be known to posterity. Addison is known, and justly known, to the world at large as the originator of the SPECTATOR, the creator of the immortal SIR ROGER DE COVERLEY.

The great and typical production of the Augustan age, —as typical of the period as the drama was of the reign of Elizabeth, or the novel is of our own days,—was the PERIODIC ESSAY. Up till the eighteenth century, literature had never had a general circulation in England; the majority of people (outside the really well-educated class) read little or nothing besides their Bible, and perhaps other devotional works, and that too only upon rare occasions. Their 'light literature' was practically *nil*; their only diversion of that sort was provided by the stage. Women, especially, were almost entirely uncared for in this respect; and being deprived of any great share in the all-absorbing game of politics, they were driving to almost incredible lengths in social follies. This, then, was the breach into which Addison and Steele stepped, they aimed at producing a paper which was at once light reading, literary in character, and devoted to social, critical and general topics. The ordinary man in the street of to-day expects his information upon literature and science to be served up to him in a light and palatable form: it may be well imagined that men and women of the reign of Queen Anne would scarcely fly for relaxation to the ponderous folios of Sir Thomas Browne or 'Democritus Junior'! The only alternative was for the male sex the coffee-house with the one absorbing topic, politics, for the women, the card-room and scandal. The object of the *Spectator* was to provide a remedy for this, "TO BRING PHILOSOPHY OUT OF CLOSETS AND LIBRARIES, SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, TO DWELL IN CLUBS AND ASSEMBLIES, AT TEA TABLES AND IN COFFEE-HOUSES," in Addison's own words. (*Spectator*, No. 10.) How Addison succeeded in his aim is a matter of history; (the daily sale Johnson calculated as reaching nearly seventeen hundred copies,—an extraordinary number for those days—Johnson does not think so, but he was living at a time when education and a taste for reading had become a good deal more general) and Johnson, in his somewhat heavy-handed and ponderous fashion, does justice to his great achievement. The Essays he characterises as "varied with elegant fictions

and refined allegories;" he admires their purity, the complete absence of coarseness and political acrimony, the unerring touch in describing the social conditions of the day without exaggeration or distortion. "ADDISON COPIES LIFE WITH SO MUCH FIDELITY, THAT HE CAN BE HARDLY SAID TO INVENT; YET HIS EXHIBITIONS HAVE AN AIR SO ORIGINAL, THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO SUPPOSE THEM NOT MERELY THE PRODUCT OF IMAGINATION" "To hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to Nature" is Addison's crowning achievement; as Thackery says, in reading the *Spectator*, we feel as if we were transported to the eighteenth century, with its routs and its card-tables, its coffee-houses and taverns. Characteristic of Addison are the quiet, liberal, unostentatious attitude of the *Spectator* on all matters of religion, and the chivalrous and delicate quality of the satire in those papers which deal with the shortcomings of the female sex. A good number of papers (about twenty) in the *Spectator* are devoted to literary criticism, for one of the objects of Addison was to stimulate and elevate popular taste in this direction. Addison, with a catholicity rare in his age, was a profound admirer of Milton. Johnson approves his famous papers on *Paradise Lost*, as being popular in style and just in their tone, but laughs at him for his praise of the old ballad of *Chevy Chase*,—which Sir Philip Sidney said "stirred his heart like a trumpet", but which Johnson, like most of his contemporaries, condemns as a piece of "chill and lifeless imbecility." Addison in this respect is far more broad-minded than his critic. He has evidently learnt a good deal, since his uncivil treatment of Chaucer and Spenser in his "*Account of the Greatest English Poets* of 1694.

The idea of a publication of this kind first occurred to Addison's friend Steele, who started the *Tatler* in 1709. Addison was at the time in Ireland, reaping the first-fruits of *The Campaign*, as secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, keeper of records at Dublin Castle, and member for Cavan. Addison soon recognized the author, and shortly afterwards became a contributor. As usual in his dealings

with "Dicky", Addison assumed a rather overwhelming attitude, and soon made himself indispensable. Steele rather ruefully compares himself to a "distressed prince" who calls in the aid of a powerful neighbour and then finds that to call him in is one thing, to send him away again quite another. In 1711 the *Tatler* was abandoned for the *Spectator*.

Johnson traces back the first germ of the idea of social satire on the lines of the *Spectator* to Addison's Italian travels. Casa and Castiglione, two Italians, and La Bruyere in France, had produced manuals of polite manners. Johnson is probably correct in supposing that Addison had read and profited by these productions, but in his list of the papers, journals, and other writings which preceded the *Spectator* he omits, for some inexplicable reason, all mention of Defoe's *Review*, which was killed out by the Stamp Act in 1713. The *Review* had contained a discussion of contemporary social topics, consisting of letters from (imaginary) correspondents, and headed "Advices from the Scandal Club." Here, and not in the courtly manuals of Casa and La Bruyere, we must seek for the true parentage of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*. Defoe, that merry literary adventurer of the early Augustan age, has yet to come to his rightful heritage in the annals of literature. A literary outcast, utterly without principle or morality of the most elementary sort, he was yet the parent of the two most important developments of seventeenth century letters,—the Novel and the Periodic Essay.

The *Spectator* describes in its opening numbers an imaginary "Club," the members of which are representatives of the leading types of Addison's own day. The principal figure is, of course, the charming and simple Sir Roger de Coverley. If we see, in the noble, naïf and pathetic figure of the immortal knight, a satire on the "rusticity" of the Tory gentleman, we must recognise that it is a masterpiece of delicacy, no satire was ever so kindly, no laughter so sympathetic as Addison's. The only adequate parallel in literature is to be found, perhaps, in *Don Quixote*, but here even, the difference is almost as great as the similarity. Addison characteristically "killed Sir Roger off," before the creation

so delicately and skilfully limned could be marred by the strokes of coarser, if more vigorous, pens.

In 1712 the *Spectator* was abruptly stopped. Addison two years later published a supplement which ran for six months, in the meantime he had contributed some fifty papers to the *Guardian*, which Steele started to replace the *Spectator*

In 1714 Queen Anne died In these days of constitutional government, the death of the reigning monarch is often a cause of very genuine personal regret to the nation, but even his death without heirs would never cause a crisis resembling in the faintest degree the intense excitement which preceded the accession of George I The establishment of that monarch upon the throne, and the defect of the heroic but suicidal outbreak (foredoomed from its inception) of the following year, secured for once and all the triumph of Whig principles Yet for a time the victory was doubtful, and Addison was called upon to support the party he had consistently, if unobtrusively, followed In 1716 appeared the *Freeholder*, in which Addison, avoiding the violent pamphleteering methods of his day, treated the "Jacobite" faction to a very fair taste of his pleasant irony The Tory Fox-hunter (*vide* No 47 of the *Freeholder*) is a rather exaggerated Sir Roger, —Sir Roger with his good points eliminated, and his old fashioned prejudices brought into prominence.

This was Addison's last literary venture as far as we are concerned His closing years were embittered by a difference with Steele and a not very happy marriage He died, with the same lofty and pious dignity which had characterized his life, on June 17, 1719

III.

ADDISON AS A STYLIST In an age when style was exalted as the be-all and the end-all of the man of letters, Addison remained unsurpassed in the particular qualities which he made the objects of his attainments in prose "*He thinks justly, but he thinks faintly,*" as Johnson said, and the remark, originally applied to his verse, is equally true of his prose "His style," an eminent critic declares, "reflects in the most refined and beautiful form the conversational idiom of his period. It is mainly distinguished by a crystal clearness of expression, a beautiful propriety in the choice of words and a balance in the distribution of them." If it be the greatest art to conceal art, then the crown of such an achievement is Addison's. "HIS PROSE IS THE MODEL OF THE MIDDLE STYLE," is Johnson's famous verdict; neither familiar nor stilted, neither bombastic nor trivial. In its aims it is unvaryingly pure, dignified, and witty. In an age of violent invective he never sinks to gross personalities; at a time when politics were the absorbing topic, he confines himself to social themes, and finally, in an age of extreme coarseness of expression, his pages are unsullied by a single offensive thought. And this is not due to prudery or affectation; it arises from the fact that Addison's writings are the reflection of a singularly pure and lofty soul.*—"I ALWAYS THOUGHT HIM A PRIEST AT HEART", said Tonson sneeringly, unconsciously bestowing upon him the highest encomium that Addison has, perhaps, ever received.

Addison may be justly called the **FATHER OF ENGLISH PROSE**. He perfected what Dryden and Defoe had begun, the formation of a pure, lucid, and unaffected prose style, the vehicle of expression for every day thought. This is the great debt which English Literature owes to the eighteenth century, and above all to Addison, the greatest prose writer in our great age of prose. We have only to compare a page of Addison with a page of Milton or Sir Thomas Browne, to realize how vast the difference is between

* Of Mandeville's famous mot, that Addison was "a parson in a tye-wig"

the clumsy grandeur of the preceding generation and the pure lucidity of the Augustan. We may justly compare Addison with Cicero, who was the inventor and perfecter of Latin prose style as we know it. And Cicero, like Addison, stands out among the writers of his age, as distinguished from his fellows, by the *unique purity of his life and writings*.

Johnson's famous summing-up of the qualities of Addison's prose is probably well known to all readers of the *Lives*, but we cannot conclude this brief survey better than by quoting the wise and pregnant words of advice which he gives to writers of all ages

"WHOEVER WISHES TO ATTAIN AN ENGLISH STYLE, FAMILIAR BUT NOT COARSE, AND ELEGANT BUT NOT OSTENTATIOUS, MUST GIVE HIS DAYS AND NIGHTS TO THE VOLUMES OF ADDISON"

IV

ADDISON'S PERSONAL CHARACTER Dr Johnson does Addison ample justice as a writer, but his description of his private character is not so enthusiastic. He evidently has not the high opinion of Addison held by Macaulay or Thackeray, and the question arises, whether the latter are indiscriminating in their praises or whether Dr. Johnson fails to do Addison justice. There is no doubt whatever about the sincerity of Johnson's intentions. He was one of the most conscientious of men, and he took the utmost pains to present to his readers what he conceived to be an impartial view of the poets about whom he wrote. But there could hardly exist between the austere, cold, and reserved Whig, and the warm-hearted, impulsive Tory, that innate sympathy so indispensable to the production of a really adequate biography. Johnson strikes the middle line between the panegyrics of Macaulay and the author of the "English Humorists," and the famous indictment of Pope. It is impossible to refrain from quoting those

brilliant, unjust, and merciless lines, so matchless in their splendid force, so despicable in their uncalled-for malice.

But were there one whose fires
True genius kindles and fair fame inspires,
Blest with each talent and each art to please
And born to write, converse, and live with ease
Should such a man, too fond to live alone,
Bear, like the Turk,¹ no brother near the throne,
View him with scornful, yet with jealous eyes,
And hate for arts that caused himself to rise,
Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And without sneering, teach the rest to sneer,
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;
Alike reserved to blame, or to commend,
A timorous foe and a suspicious friend,
Dreading ev'n fools, by flatt'ers besieged,
And so obliging, that he ne'er obliged²,
Like Cato, give his little senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause,
While wits and templars³ every sentence raise,
And wonder with a foolish face of praise —
Who but must laugh if such a man there be?
Who would not weep, if *Atticus*⁴ where he?

Now these lines were written in a fit of childish spite, at a supposed slight which Addison was accused of having put upon Pope's translation of the *Iliad*; so we may discount a good deal of indictment as being a mere ebullition of personal feeling (Johnson, for some reason or other, omits to mention the famous quarrel with Pope; the details will be found in Chapter VII of Courthope's "Life.") But is there not some residuum of truth in the description? Thackeray denies this *in toto*, Macaulay reluctantly confesses that there is Addison, naturally retiring and shy, ("that timorous or sullen taciturnity, which his friends called modesty by too mild a name," says Johnson rather unkindly,) found an abnormal pleasure in the little knot of admirers who gathered round him as they did round Johnson in the next generation, and Carlyle a century later.

¹ The Sultan was said to put his relations to death, so as to have no rivals!

² Notice the 18th century pronunciation

³ Lawyers, living at the Inner or Middle Temple. Probably *Budgell* is meant

⁴ Addison

Yet, while encouraging these satellites, Addison despised them, assuming towards them an air of kindly, but often contemptuous benevolence. Nothing could illustrate this more strikingly than his treatment of the ablest and most enthusiastic of his worshippers, his faithful colleague Richard Steele. Johnson implies that Addison treated Steele very shabbily, not only constantly laughing at him, but finally issuing a warrant against his friend for failing to repay a loan of one hundred (Courthope says one thousand) pounds. Johnson got this story from Richard Savage, who told it to him "with tears in his eyes." Though the substance of it may be true, Johnson's way of telling it is very probably a grave injustice to Addison, as Macaulay points out. It is quite possible that "Dicky's" incorrigible extravagance had irritated his precise friend beyond all endurance, and that he took the steps he did, not out of meanness but to give him a salutary lesson. At any rate Steele did not complain, so we need not; and probably the summons never went further than a threat, for research has failed to reveal any trace of its issue. Johnson, rather unfairly insists upon Addison's supposed meanness, besides the story about Steele, of which he takes an unduly harsh view, Johnson mentions (on the authority of Swift, who disliked Addison) that he never remitted his fees when in office, even to oblige his friends. There is no purpose in repeating this story, even if it is true. The implication is obvious, and Addison had every right to act in this manner. In the same way, Johnson (on the very biased evidence of Pope) insists on Addison's incapability as Secretary of State. It is well known that he could not speak; but the statement that he could not write a despatch because he could never find appropriate words, is probably a satire of jealous rivals upon his notoriously painstaking and laborious methods of writing.* Johnson again blames him rather unfairly for his association in office in Ireland with the profligate Marquis of Wharton, and considers his dedication of *Rosamund* to the Duchess of

* "He wrote fluently but was slow and scrupulous in correcting"—*Pope*

Marlborough, a piece of "servile absurdity." Of the former charge we can safely say that it is quite pointless, and Addison's flattery of Sarah Jennings, though naturally repugnant to a man of Johnson's independence of character, was a kind of compliment which was almost universal in those days of literary patronage. Addison, like most of his contemporaries, was addicted to wine, but, as Macaulay says, of a gentleman of Queen Anne's reign, "we should no more think of saying that he took too much wine than that he wore a long wig and a sword."

Johnson mentions as an example of Addison's delicacy that he "killed" Sir Roger because Steele would have represented him as engaged in an adventure which in those days would have appeared merely laughable to nine people out of ten; but he fails to lay sufficient emphasis upon Addison's *restraint*, his refusal to retaliate when injured. He was furious with Pope, when the latter, with a ready obsequiousness only too apparent, wrote *A narrative of the Madness of John Dennis*, as a reply to that critic's abuse of *Cato*, and sent Steele to apologize, and, when Pope shewed him the terrible verses quoted above, "he used him civilly ever after," not, as Pope thought, from fear, but from principle. Johnson's summary, in a word, is a little cold and unsympathetic, when compared with the glowing eulogies of Thackeray. While striving to be just, Johnson often exaggerates his author's faults, and minimises his virtues. The "Life," too, is rather sketchy, very often details on points of great importance biographically, *e g.*, the quarrel with Pope, the story of poor Budgell*, and other incidents, are quite omitted. The "Life" has nothing like the wealth of detail, or the sympathetic attitude, of Macaulay's great Essay, but Macaulay was a Whig, and found in Addison a congenial enough theme.

* Budgell, the "Templar" of the *Spectator*, drowned himself, leaving behind him the verses, "*What Cato did, and Addison approved, cannot be wrong*" of course Addison did not approve.

DR. JOHNSON AND THE LIVES

I.

Everyone knows something of the life and character of the genial doctor, the most striking figure in literature, the Carlyle of his age, as we might well call him. Born in 1709, just when Steele and Addison were contemplating their great literary venture, and educated at Oxford under circumstances of great poverty, Johnson tried in vain to make a living as a schoolmaster. So in 1737 he took the heroic resolve to proceed to London to try and make his fortune, and accompanied by Garrick (afterwards the famous actor) he set out to walk to the great city with four pence in his pocket. His heroism was at first ill-rewarded, for while Garrick rose to fame, his old master struggled on in poverty. He received £300 for his tragedy of *Irene*, which was staged by his former pupil in 1749, twelve years after its commencement. Up to this time Johnson had struggled on in a desperate fashion, eking out a scanty living as a journalist and parliamentary reporter. His best known works during that period were his satire in verse entitled *London*, followed in 1749 by the more famous *Vanity of Human Wishes*, and his *Life of Richard Savage*, 1744. In 1750 he tried, with the same singular ill-success that had attended his former efforts, to revive the glories of the now defunct periodic Essay, and he issued a bi-weekly journal called *The Rambler*. But the heavy style and ponderous morality of Johnson followed ill after the airy graces of Addison, and the wonder

is that it ran for two years. A few years later (1755) appeared *The Dictionary* at which Johnson had been working for years, and with it, the tide at last began to turn. There is, curiously enough, more humour in this, the most prosaic of Johnson's undertakings, than in all his other works put together. *Pension* we find defined as "pay given to a hireling for treason to his country"; *oats* are "a grain eaten in England by horses, but in Scotland by the people".

The dictionary was eagerly acclaimed by Lord Chesterfield, who doubtless hoped to get some credit as the patron of this great undertaking. This was too much for the independent spirit of the sturdy doctor, who promptly wrote to his lordship and pointed out that seven years of persistent contempt and neglect was worthy of a very different return. The famous epistle is a masterpiece of dignified satire, and worth many *Ramblers*. The dictionary brought him fame, and the degree of LL.D from Dublin University; but it almost ruined the author, who was only rescued from bankruptcy by the kindness of the novelist Richardson. Undaunted, however, Johnson set to work on his "Idler" papers, which appeared from 1758—1760, and which shewed a great improvement in the author's style. In the meantime he had written a terribly ponderous and funereal "Oriental tale" entitled *Rasselas*.

Johnson was now past fifty, and not for one moment did he lose heart. But the reward was nigh, for in 1762 an ever-increasing circle of admirers and friends obtained for him a pension of £300. (Contrast this with Addison, who attracted in early life the attention of Government, and continued to hold lucrative posts till his death.) Johnson's sturdy independence is one of the finest features in his character. In 1773, in spite of advancing years, he and his admirer Boswell went off on their arduous, and even dangerous, Scotch tour.

It was towards the end of his career that Johnson received the order to write prefaces to an edition of the English poets which was then about to be issued. We should, then, beware of treating the "Lives" as regular biographies;

they are, as Johnson said, merely prefaces, and do not pretend to be more than a short estimate of, and general introduction to, the authors with whom they deal. The full title of the "Lives" sufficiently indicates their purpose; they were entitled *Prefaces, Biographical and Critical, to the most eminent English Poets*

II

Johnson, like Carlyle, was a man of very strong convictions, he is never in two minds about any literary work about which he is called on to give an opinion. "For thirty years," it has been said, "he talked English Literature," and his position as the acknowledged dictator of letters made him inclined to lay down the law. But Johnson's opinions, though often mistaken, are always characterized by that sturdy independence which distinguished him. Right or wrong, he says what he *thinks*, and not what he has gathered from contemporaries to be correct. In criticising romantic poetry, the work of Gray for instance, or Milton's shorter poems, he appears to modern taste to be hopelessly unfair. *Lycidas* is "easy, vulgar, and therefore disgusting,"—which no doubt it was to eighteenth-century ears.

But in criticising his Augustan contemporaries we see Johnson in a very different light, here we have writers criticised by an expert in their own school of thought and expression, who is in genuine sympathy with their canons of literary taste, and who views them from their own, and not from the half-hearted Neo-romantic point of view. His opinion with regard to Dryden, Pope, and Addison we may almost accept as final; though, as we have already seen, his view of the life and character of the latter is somewhat unsympathetic.

But Addison was a Whig to the core, and Johnson was, every inch of him, a Tory and a High-Churchman, and any distorted view of which the latter may be guilty is due, not to intentional depreciation, but to an inability, natural in

an age when party-feeling was a strong and vital thing, to grasp his author's point of view. "Modern authors," observes a recent critic, "would fill as many pages as Johnson filled lines with the biographies of their heroes. He has left much to be supplied and corrected by later scholars. His aim is simply to give a vigorous summary of the main facts of his heroes' lives, a pithy analysis of their character, and a short criticism of their productions. THE STRONG SENSE WHICH IS EVERYWHERE DISPLAYED, THE MASSIVE STYLE, WHICH IS YET EASIER AND LESS CUMBROUS THAN IN HIS EARLIER WORKS, AND THE UPRIGHTNESS AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDGMENTS, MAKE THE BOOK AGREEABLE EVEN WHERE WE ARE MOST INCLINED TO DISSENT FROM ITS CONCLUSIONS."

III.

STYLE Few people, unless (as Professor Courthope pithily puts it) "their sense of duty is abnormally developed", read Johnson now. He is one of those men whose works are known to us well enough by name, but very little further. The truth is, that Johnson's fame rests upon his powers as a *talker*, not a *writer*; and for one reader who has ever opened *Rasselas* there must be a hundred who have been entranced by the delightful retorts of the great doctor as recorded by the faithful Boswell. Hence a great misconception has got abroad about Johnson's style, people imagine that everything he wrote must be couched in the heavy, cumbrous diction of *Rasselas*, or *The Rambler*; and the expression "Johnsonese" has been coined (by Macaulay) as a byword for pompous Latinism of style. The truth of the matter is, that this indictment is true enough of Johnson's earlier productions. Johnson was by proclivity an eighteenth-century pedagogue, brought up to think the glowing periods and balanced epithets of classical Latin the acmè of literary perfection. But all his life he worked

steadily to cast aside these shackles, and his maturest work, the "Lives," have, it has been said, "ALL THE DIGNITY AND EASE OF GOOD CONVERSATION"

A sentence like this is typically Johnsonian "*Of essays thus elegant, thus instructive, and thus commodiously distributed, it is natural to suppose the approbation general and the sale numerous*" Notice the careful balance of clauses, and the arrangement of epithets skilfully distributed through the sentence. A modern writer would have expressed the same idea without the use of the affected and Latinized epithets "elegant," and "commodious," and he would have probably avoided the cumbrous noun "approbation." Instead of carefully balancing the clauses he would have split them up into a number of independent sentences. The same sentence, expressed in the nervous, 'snip-snap' style of Macaulay, would probably run as follows "Addison's essays had three peculiar merits. They were elegant in style, they contained much valuable information, they were excellently arranged. Under these circumstances we should naturally have expected that they would have had a good reception from the public, and a better sale."

Such is the difference between the literary conventions of ourselves and our grandfathers. But taste is an uncertain thing, and the next generation may see a revolution from the modern elaborate simplicity to the more dignified medium of expression of Samuel Johnson.

Johnson died three years after the publication of his last great work, "full of years and honours," beloved and respected as the greatest man of his generation, but a little lonely, as all who have outlived many of their contemporaries must ever be. He had set an example of courageous independence in literature which will never be forgotten; "HE BECAME DICTATOR OF THE WORLD OF LETTERS, AND WITH INTELLECT SO GREAT, A CHARACTER SO TRUE, AND HUMOUR SO GOOD, HIS DECISIONS, EVEN WHEN VEHEMENTLY GIVEN, WERE REGARDED AS JUDGMENTS FROM WHICH THERE WAS NO APPEAL."

WHAT TO READ ON XVIII CENTURY LITERATURE

Students frequently wish to be advised upon the choice of a few leading books with which to supplement the observations of their professor or the annotated edition of their author. There is a wealth of literature dealing with the Eighteenth Century, but a good deal of it is too detailed and too technical for the average Intermediate student, and would merely serve to confuse him and overburden his memory. There is one book, however, which no one should omit to read, and that is Thackeray's *English Humorists* with its beautiful and sympathetic lecture upon Addison. Macaulay's famous *Essay on Addison* is also indispensable; it is a model of clear, forceful English, quite within the range of everyone's comprehension.

For students who have a taste for reading, Thackeray's great novel *Esmond* will be found at once fascinating and invaluable for the details it gives of the everyday life of Addison and his contemporaries.

For Dr Johnson, the student will find Macaulay's *Essay* illuminating, but he will be advised if he 'snip' the controversial part in which Macaulay castigates the unfortunate Croker. Boswell's "Life" is one of the most charming books ever penned, and the industrious scholar, with a turn for original research, would do well if he were to collate (with the help of the index) all the relevant passages, particularly those referring to Addison.

Everyone should study the admirable *Lives* by Sir Leslie Stephen and Professor Courthope in that excellent series of *English Men of Letters*, and really to obtain some insight into the style of Addison, and appreciate the force of Johnson's remarks, it is necessary to read one or two *Essays* from the *Spectator*, at least. An excellent book for this purpose is Lobban's *Essays*, with a clever, though rather difficult, introduction. A few of Johnson's *Rambler* and *Idler* papers may be found here and should be studied for purposes of contrast.

MACAULAY'S OPINION OF THE "LIVES"

"The *Lives of the Poets* are, on the whole, the best of Johnson's works. The narratives are as entertaining as any novel. The remarks on life and on human nature are eminently shrewd and

profound The criticisms are often excellent, and, even when grossly and provokingly unjust, well deserve to be studied For, however erroneous they may be, they are never silly They are the judgments of a mind trammelled by prejudice and deficient in sensibility, but vigorous and acute They therefore generally contain a portion of valuable truth which deserves to be separated from the alloy; and, at the very worst, they *mean something*, a praise to which much of what is called criticism in our time has no pretensions

When he, after the lapse of years, (between the 'Life of Savage', 1744 and the 'Lives of the poets', 1779—81) resumed his pen, the mannerism which he had contracted whilst he was in the constant habit of elaborate composition was less perceptible than formerly, and his diction frequently had a colloquial ease which it had formerly wanted The improvement may be discerned by a skilful critic in the 'Journey to the Hebrides', and in the 'Lives of the Poets' is so obvious that it cannot escape the notice of the most careless reader "

ERRORS IN THE "LIFE OF ADDISON"

Johnson intended his "Lives" to be prefaces, and not complete biographies of his authors It is therefore reasonable to expect of him nothing more than a bold outline of the life and work of the various authors of whom he treats But though a man of omnivorous reading, gifted, moreover, with an eminently masculine, vigorous, and independent judgment, Johnson was notoriously unmethodical, and even lazy, as a worker Hence his biographies abound in errors, some mere slips, others of a more serious nature, of which the student should beware The "Life of Addison" contains a fair proportion of such errors; they are due to two causes —Johnson follows Tickell, Addison's literary executor and biographer, without stopping to verify him, and hence repeats many of his mistakes, he has also never read a good many of Addison's less-known works, and speaks of them from mere hearsay and at second-hand The following list does not, of course, pretend to be exhaustive

(1) p 6 *Steele dedicated to him the 'Tender Husband' "with a confession that he owed to him several of the most successful scenes."* Johnson is here following Tickell who exaggerates Steele says ("Spectator", 555) that he owes him "many applauded strokes", merely

(ii) p 7 *Steele's "first 'Tatler' was published April 22 (1709), and Addison's contribution appeared May 26"* This is quite wrong. Addison's first contribution probably appeared April 22nd (or April 20th, to be exact, as Prof Courthope puts down No 18 to Addison), and the 'Tatler' itself was first issued on April 12th

(iii) p 9 "*Steele had shewn him (Sir Roger) innocently picking up a girl in the Temple*" This is a gratuitous insult to Steele. The paper ("Spectator", 410) is signed T, and is almost certainly Tickell's, and not Steele's at all.

(iv) p. 14. *Addison initials his 'Spectator' papers because "as Steele insinuates he could not without discontent impart to others any of his own" praise* This is hardly just to either Addison or Steele Addison had initialled his papers, but Steele took the responsibility as editor Tickell unfairly insinuated that this was done to guard against any false claims made by Steele. Johnson as usual follows Tickell, who, it must be remembered, was writing just after the rupture between Steele and Addison. Johnson apparently never read Steele's indignant letter to Congreve complaining of Tickell's most unfair insinuations.

(v) p 14 (The Drummer) *Addison "only told him (Steele) it was the work of a 'Gentleman in the Company'"* Addison actually said 'a gentleman then in the room' Johnson apparently thinks he means a member of the *Drury lane theatrical Company*, and hence the hint loses all its point

(vi) p 15 "*To Addison Tickell has ascribed twenty-three 'Spectator papers*" The actual number assigned by Tickell to Addison is twenty four.

(vii) p 16 *Addison's failure as Secretary to the regency* An "idle tradition" (See Macaulay's "Essay on Addison", edited by K M Cooper, B A, p 123; and note, p 414) Probably a *canard* invented by Addison's detractors. Johnson has no warrant for repeating an unauthenticated libel like this

(viii) p 16 *Addison's ridicule of the Pretender's poverty* Johnson as a Tory finds this neither "elegant" nor "decent." But Addison never "ridiculed" the Pretender at all He merely says that he ordered the Lord High Treasurer to pay off "a milk score of three years' standing" This is very mild, considering the lengths to which political satire in the 18th century often went. ("Freeholder", No 36)

(ix) p. 17 *Addison's pension.* Actually £1,600, not £1,500, as Johnson states.

(x) p. 18 *Addison's quarrel with Steele.* Johnson is most unfair to Addison. He declares that the latter wrote of Steele as "Little Dicky whose trade it was to write pamphlets" This is a gross libel, Addison was incapable of such personalities. He refers indeed to "Little Dickey" in the "Old Whig," but he means Henry Norris, the actor, and not Steele at all.

(xi) p. 22 *Addison's quarrel with Pope* Johnson's account is vague and unsatisfactory. Had he read the accounts more carefully he would have seen that Pope, not Addison, was to blame. And it is impossible to see what Johnson can mean by his cruel and unfounded statement that "Pope was not the only man whom he insidiously injured."

(xii) p. 26. *Addison never printed the 'Account of the English Poets'* This is stated by Johnson on the authority of Pope. As a matter of fact it appeared in Dryden's "Annual Miscellany" in 1594.

(xiii) *Addison's political career* Johnson (who disparages Addison as a man of affairs) says nothing of his political career. He sat in the Irish Parliament as member for Cavan, 1709. He was member for Malmesbury in the following year and held the seat till his death. As a Secretary to various Ministers (Sunderland, Wharton, the Chiefs Justices, etc.) he steadily mounted to the first office in Government in 1717. He had also been Commissioner of Appeals, Keeper of the (Irish) Records, and Commissioner of Trade. He was in fact almost as distinguished as a Civil Servant as a man of letters, though this side of his career has been lost sight of.

CHIEF DATES IN ADDISON'S LIFE

1672 *Addison born*

1685. Accession of James II

1688 Deposition of James II. — *Pope born.*

1689. *Accession of William III End of the Stuarts*

1687-93 Addison at Oxford Latin Poems

1693. Takes his M. A. degree, writes his first English "Verses to Dryden"

1694 "Account of the Greatest English Poets"

1695. "A Poem to His Majesty presented to the Lord keeper"
 1699 *Sent abroad*. Goes to France
 1701. In Italy.
 1702. "*Dialogue on Medals*" (written at Vienna). Accession
 of Queen Anne, fall of the Whig Ministry. Addison's
 pension ceases
 1703 Returns to England. "*Letter from Italy*"
 1704. *Battle of Blenheim*. "*The Campaign*" Commissioner of
 Appeals
 1705. Steele's "Tender Husband."
 1707. "*Rosamund*."
 1709. Goes to Ireland with Wharton. "*The Tatler*" (April 12th.)
 1711. "*The Spectator*"
 1712. End of the "*Spectator*" (December 6th)
 1713 "*The Guardian*" "*Cato*" acted (April 14th).
 1714. The "*Spectator*" re-issued (June 18th).
 1715. Pope's *Iliad*, Bk. I, quarrel between Pope and Addison
 "*The Freeholder*" (December 23rd.)
 1716. "*The Drummer*" acted (March 10th) Addison marries
 Lady Warwick
 1717 *Addison Secretary of State*
 1718. Retires from Government service
 1719. "*The Old Whig*." Quarrel with Steele. Death of Addison,
 June 17th.

(The collected edition by his admirer and executor Tickell, with
 a life of the author, appeared two years later.)

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JOHNSON'S LIFE OF ADDISON.

JOSEPH ADDISON was born on the first of May, 1672, at Milston, of which his father, Lancelot Addison, was then rector, near Ambrosbury in Wiltshire, and appearing weak and unlikely to live, he was christened the same day. After the usual domestick education, which, from the character of his father, may be reasonably supposed to have given him strong impressions of piety, he was committed to the care of Mr Naish at Ambrosbury, and afterwards of Mr Taylor at Salisbury.

Not to name the school or the masters of men illustrious for literature, is a kind of historical fraud, by which honest fame is 10 injuriously diminished. I would therefore trace him through the whole process of his education. In 1683, in the beginning of his twelfth year, his father being made dean of Lichfield, naturally carried his family to his new residence, and, I believe, placed him for some time, probably not long, under Mr. Shaw, then master of the school at Lichfield, father of the late Dr Peter Shaw. Of this interval his biographers have given no account, and I know it only from a story of a *barring-out*, told me, when I was a boy, by Andrew Corbet of Shropshire, who had heard it from Mr Pigot his uncle.

The practice of *barring-out*, was a savage license, practised in 20 many schools to the end of the last century, by which the boys, when the periodical vacation drew near, growing petulant at the approach of liberty, some days before the time of regular recess, took possession of the school, of which they barred the doors, and bade their master defiance from the windows. It is not easy to suppose that on such occasions the master would do more than laugh, yet, if tradition may be credited, he often struggled hard to force or surprise the garrison. The master, when Pigot was a school-boy, was *barred-out* at Lichfield, and the whole operation, as he said, was planned and conducted by Addison.

To judge better of the probability of this story, I have enquired when he was sent to the Chartreux, but, as he was not one of those who enjoyed the Founder's benefaction, there is no account preserved of his admission. At the school of the Chartreux, to which he was removed either from that of Salisbury or Lichfield, he pursued his juvenile studies under the care of Dr Ellis, and contracted that intimacy with Sir Richard Steele, which their joint labours have so effectually recorded.

Of this memorable friendship the greater praise must be given
10 to Steele. It is not hard to love those from whom nothing can be feared, and Addison never considered Steele as a rival, but Steele lived, as he confesses, under an habitual subjection to the predominating genius of Addison, whom he always mentioned with reverence, and treated with obsequiousness.

Addison, who knew his own dignity, could not always forbear to shew it, by playing a little upon his admirer; but he was in no danger of retort: his jests were endured without resistance or resentment.

But the sneer of jocularly was not the worst. Steele, whose im-
20 prudence of generosity, or vanity of profusion, kept him always incurably necessitous, upon some pressing exigence, in an evil hour, borrowed an hundred pounds of his friend, probably without much purpose of repayment, but Addison, who seems to have had other notions of a hundred pounds, grew impatient of delay, and reclaimed his loan by an execution. Steele felt with great sensibility the obduracy of his creditor, but with emotions of sorrow rather than of anger.

In 1687 he was entered into Queen's College in Oxford, where, in 1689, the accidental perusal of some Latin verses gained him the
30 patronage of Dr. Lancaster, afterwards provost of Queen's College, by whose recommendation he was elected into Magdalen College as a Demy, a term by which that society denominates those which are elsewhere called Scholars, young men, who partake of the founder's benefaction, and succeed in their order to vacant fellowships.

Here he continued to cultivate poetry and criticism, and grew first eminent by his Latin compositions, which are indeed entitled to particular praise. He has not confined himself to the imitation of any ancient author, but has formed his style from the general language, such as a diligent perusal of the productions of different
40 ages happened to supply.

His Latin compositions seem to have had much of his fondness for he collected a second volume of the "*Musæ Anglicanæ*," perhaps for a convenient receptacle, in which all his Latin pieces are inserted, and where his Poem on the Peace has the first place. He afterwards presented the collection to Boileau, who from that time *conceived*, says Tickell, *an opinion of the English genius for poetry*. Nothing is better known of Boileau, than that he had an injudicious and peevish contempt of modern Latin, and therefore his profession of regard was probably the effect of his civility rather than approbation

10

Three of his Latin poems are upon subjects on which perhaps he would not have ventured to have written in his own language "The Battle of the Pigmies and Cranes," "The Barometer," and "A Bowling-green." When the matter is low or scanty, a dead language, in which nothing is mean because nothing is familiar, affords great conveniences, and by the sonorous magnificence of Roman syllables, the writer conceals penury of thought, and want of novelty, often from the reader, and often from himself.

In his twenty-second year he first shewed his power of English poetry, by some verses addressed to Dryden, and soon afterwards published a translation of the greater part of the Fourth Georgick upon Bees, after which, says Dryden, *my latter swarm is hardly worth the hiving*. 20

About the same time he composed the arguments prefixed to the several books of Dryden's "*Virgil*," and produced an Essay on the Georgicks, juvenile, superficial, and uninstrucive, without much either of the scholar's learning or the critick's penetration.

His next paper of verses contained a character of the principal English poets, inscribed to Henry Sacheverell, who was then, if not a poet, a writer of verses, as is shewn by his version of a small part of Virgil's Georgicks, published in the Miscellanies, and a Latin encomium on queen Mary, in the "*Musæ Anglicanæ*." These verses exhibit all the fondness of friendship, but on one side or the other, friendship was afterwards too weak for the malignity of faction 30

In this poem is a very confident and discriminative character of Spenser, whose work he had then never read. So little sometimes is criticism the effect of judgement. It is necessary to inform the reader, that about this time he was introduced by Congreve to

Montague, then Chancellor of the Exchequer Addison was then learning the trade of a courtier, and subjoined Montague as a poetical name to those of Cowley and of Dryden.

By the influence of Mr. Montague, concurring, according to Tickell, with his natural modesty, he was diverted from his original design of entering into holy orders Montague alleged the corruption of men who engaged in civil employments without liberal education, and declared, that, though he was represented as an enemy to the Church, he would never do it any injury but by withholding Addison
10 from it

Soon after (in 1695) he wrote a poem to king William, with a rhyming introduction addressed to lord Somers King William had no regard to elegance or literature, his study was only war, yet by a choice of ministers, whose disposition was very different from his own, he procured, without intention, a very liberal patronage to poetry. Addison was caressed both by Somers and Montague

In 1697 appeared his Latin verses on the peace of Ryswick, which he dedicated to Montague, and which was afterwards called by Smith *the best Latin poem since the "Æneid"* Praise must not be
20 too rigorously examined, but the performance cannot be denied to be vigorous and elegant

Having yet no publick employment, he obtained (in 1699) a pension of three hundred pounds a year, that he might be enabled to travel He staid a year at Blois, probably to learn the French language, and then proceeded in his journey to Italy, which he surveyed with the eyes of a poet

While he was travelling at leisure, he was far from being idle, for he not only collected his observations on the country, but found time to write his "*Dialogues on Medals*," and four Acts of "*Cato*"
30 Such at least is the relation of Tickell Perhaps he only collected his materials, and formed his plan

Whatever were his other employments in Italy, he there wrote the letter to lord Halifax, which is justly considered as the most elegant, if not the most sublime, of his poetical productions But in about two years he found it necessary to hasten home, being, as Swift informs us, distressed by indigence, and compelled to become the tutor of a travelling Squire, because his pension was not remitted

At his return he published his *Travels*, with a dedication to lord Somers As his stay in foreign countries was short, his observations

are such as might be supplied by a hasty view, and consist chiefly in comparisons of the present face of the country with the descriptions left us by the Roman poets, from whom he made preparatory collections, though he might have spared the trouble, had he known that such collections had been made twice before by Italian authors.

The most amusing passage of his book, is his account of the minute republic of San Marino; of many parts it is not a very severe censure to say that they might have been written at home. His elegance of language, and variegation of prose and verse, however, gains upon the reader, and the book, though a while neglected, became in time so much the favourite of the publick, that before it was reprinted it rose to five times its price.

When he returned to England (in 1702), with a meanness of appearance which gave testimony of the difficulties to which he had been reduced, he found his old patrons out of power, and was therefore for a time at full leisure for the cultivation of his mind, and a mind so cultivated gives reason to believe that little time was lost.

But he remained not long neglected or useless. The victory at Blenheim (1704) spread triumph and confidence over the nation, and lord Godolphin lamenting to lord Halifax, that it had not been celebrated in a manner equal to the subject, desired him to propose it to some better poet. Halifax told him that there was no encouragement for genius, that worthless men were unprofitably enriched with publick money, without any care to find or employ those whose appearance might do honour to their country. To this Godolphin replied, that such abuses should in time be rectified, and that if a man could be found capable of the task then proposed, he should not want an ample recompense. Halifax then named Addison, but required that the Treasurer should apply to him in his own person. Godolphin sent the message by Mr. Boyle, afterwards lord Carleton, and Addison having undertaken the work, communicated it to the Treasurer, while it was yet advanced no further than the simile of the Angel, and was immediately rewarded by succeeding Mr. Locke in the place of *Commissioner of Appeals*.

In the following year he was at Hanover with lord Halifax, and the year after was made under-secretary of state, first to Sir Charles Hedges, and in a few months more to the earl of Sunderland.

About this time the prevalent taste for Italian operas inclined him to try what would be the effect of a musical Drama in our own language. He therefore wrote the opera of "Rosamond," which, 40

when exhibited on the stage, was either hissed or neglected, but trusting that the readers would do him more justice, he published it, with an inscription to the dutchess of Marlborough, a woman without skill, or pretensions to skill, in poetry or literature. His dedication was therefore an instance of servile absurdity, to be exceeded only by Joshua Barnes's dedication of a Greek Anacreon to the Duke

His reputation had been somewhat advanced by "The Tender Husband," a comedy which Steele dedicated to him, with a confession that he owed to him several of the most successful scenes To
10 this play Addison supplied a prologue.

When the marquis of Wharton was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, Addison attended him as his secretary, and was made keeper of the records in Birmingham's Tower, with a salary of three hundred pounds a year. The office was little more than nominal, and the salary was augmented for his accommodation.

Interest and faction allow little to the operation of particular dispositions, or private opinions. Two men of personal characters more opposite than those of Wharton and Addison, could not easily be brought together. Wharton was impious, profligate, and shame-
20 less, without regard, or appearance of regard, to right and wrong whatever is contrary to this, may be said of Addison; but as agents of a party they were connected, and how they adjusted their other sentiments we cannot know

Addison must however not be too hastily condemned. It is not necessary to refuse benefits from a bad man, when the acceptance implies no approbation of his crimes, nor has the subordinate officer any obligation to examine the opinions or conduct of those under whom he acts, except that he may not be made the instrument of wickedness. It is reasonable to suppose that Addison counteracted,
30 as far as he was able, the malignant and blasting influence of the Lieutenant, and that at least by his intervention some good was done, and some mischief prevented.

When he was in office, he made a law to himself, as Swift has recorded, never to remit his regular fees in civility to his friends. "For," said he, "I may have a hundred friends, and, if my fee be two guineas, I shall, by relinquishing my right, lose two hundred guineas, and no friend gain more than two, there is therefore no proportion between the good imparted and the evil suffered."

He was in Ireland when Steele, without any communication of his design, began the publication of the "Tatler;" but he was not long concealed by inserting a remark on Virgil, which Addison had given him, he discovered himself. It is indeed not easy for any man to write upon literature, or common life, so as not to make himself known to those with whom he familiarly converses, and who are acquainted with his track of study, his favourite topics, his peculiar notions, and his habitual phrases.

If Steele desired to write in secret, he was not lucky, a single month detected him. His first "Tatler" was published April 22 10 (1709), and Addison's contribution appeared May 26. Tickell observes, that the "Tatler" began and was concluded without his concurrence. This is doubtless literally true, but the work did not suffer much by his unconsciousness of its commencement, or his absence at its cessation; for he continued his assistance to December 23, and the paper stopped on January 2. He did not distinguish his pieces by any signature, and I know not whether his name was not kept secret, till the papers were collected into volumes.

To the "Tatler," in about two months, succeeded the "Spectator," a series of essays of the same kind, but written with less levity, 20 upon a more regular plan, and published daily. Such an undertaking shewed the writers not to distrust their own copiousness of materials or facility of composition, and their performance justified their confidence. They found, however, in their progress, many auxiliaries. To attempt a single paper was no terrifying labour; many pieces were offered, and many were received.

Addison had enough of the zeal of party, but Steele had at that time almost nothing else. The "Spectator," in one of the first papers, shewed the political tenets of its authors, but a resolution was soon taken, of courting general approbation by general topics, 30 and subjects on which faction had produced no diversity of sentiments, such as literature, morality, and familiar life. To this practice they adhered with very few deviations. The ardour of Steele once broke out in praise of Marlborough, and when Dr Fleetwood prefixed to some sermons a preface, overflowing with whiggish opinions, that it might be read by the Queen, it was reprinted in the "Spectator."

To teach the minuter decencies and inferior duties, to regulate the practice of daily conversation, to correct those depravities which are rather ridiculous than criminal, and remove those grievances 40 which, if they produce no lasting calamities, impress hourly vexation,

was first attempted by *Casa* in his book of "Manners," and *Castiglione* in his "Courtier," two books yet celebrated in Italy for purity and elegance, and which, if they are now less read, are neglected only because they have effected that reformation which their authors intended, and their precepts now are no longer wanted. Their usefulness to the age in which they were written, is sufficiently attested by the translations which almost all the nations of Europe were in haste to obtain.

This species of instruction was continued, and perhaps advanced, 10 by the French; among whom *La Bruyere's* "Manners of the Age," though, as Boileau remarked, it is written without connection, certainly deserves great praise, for liveliness of description and justness of observation.

Before the "Tatler" and "Spectator," if the writers for the theatre are excepted, England had no masters of common life. No writers had yet undertaken to reform either the savageness of neglect, or the impertinence of civility, to shew when to speak, or to be silent, how to refuse, or how to comply. We had many books to 20 teach us our more important duties, and to settle opinions in philosophy or politicks; but an *Arbiter elegantiarum*, a judge of propriety, was yet wanting, who should survey the track of daily conversation, and free it from thorns and prickles, which tease the passer, though they do not wound him.

For this purpose nothing is so proper as the frequent publication of short papers, which we read not as study but amusement. If the subject be slight, the treatise likewise is short. The busy may find time, and the idle may find patience.

This mode of conveying cheap and easy knowledge began among us in the Civil War, when it was much the interest of either party 30 to raise and fix the prejudices of the people. At that time appeared "Mercurius Aulicus," "Mercurius Rusticus," and "Mercurius Civicus." It is said, that when any title grew popular, it was stolen by the antagonist, who by this stratagem conveyed his notions to those who would not have received him had he not worn the appearance of a friend. The tumult of those unhappy days left scarcely any man leisure to treasure up occasional compositions, and so much were they neglected, that a complete collection is no where to be found.

These "Mercuries" were succeeded by L'Estrange's "Observer," 40 and that by Lesley's "Rehearsal," and perhaps by others,

but hitherto nothing had been conveyed to the people, in this com-
modious manner, but controversy relating to the Church or State, of
which they taught many to talk, whom they could not teach to judge

It has been suggested that the Royal Society was instituted soon
after the Restoration, to divert the attention of the people from pub-
lick discontent The "Tatler" and "Spectator" had the same ten-
dency they were published at a time when two parties, loud, restless,
and violent, each with plausible declarations, and each perhaps with-
out any distinct termination of its views, were agitating the nation,
to minds heated with political contest, they supplied cooler and more 10
inoffensive reflections, and it is said by Addison, in a subsequent
work, that they had a perceptible influence upon the conversation of
that time, and taught the frolick and the gay to unite merriment with
decency, an effect which they can never wholly lose, while they con-
tinue to be among the first books by which both sexes are initiated
in the elegances of knowledge.

The "Tatler" and "Spectator" adjusted, like Casa, the unsettled
practice of daily intercourse by propriety and politeness; and, like
La Bruyere, exhibited the *Characters and Manners of the Age* The
personages introduced in these papers were not merely ideal; they 20
were then known, and conspicuous in various stations Of the "Tat-
ler" this is told by Steele in his last paper, and of the "Spectator"
by Budgell in the Preface to "Theophrastus;" a book which Addison
has recommended, and which he was suspected to have revised, if
he did not write it Of those portraits, which may be supposed to be
sometimes embellished, and sometimes aggravated, the originals
are now partly known, and partly forgotten

But to say that they united the plans of two or three eminent
writers, is to give them but a small part of their due praise, they super-
added literature and criticism, and sometimes towered far above 30
their predecessors; and taught, with great justness of argument and
dignity of language, the most important duties and sublime truths

All these topicks were happily varied with elegant fictions and
refined allegories, and illuminated with different changes of style and
felicities of invention

It is recorded by Budgell, that of the characters feigned or exhi-
bited in the "Spectator," the favourite of Addison was Sir Roger de
Coverley, of whom he had formed a very delicate and discriminated
idea, which he would not suffer to be violated; and therefore when
Steele had shewn him innocently picking up a girl in the Temple, 40

and taking her to a tavern, he drew upon himself so much of his friend's indignation, that he was forced to appease him by a promise of forbearing Sir Roger for the time to come

The reason which induced Cervantes to bring his hero to the grave, *para mi sola nacio Don Quixote, y yo para el*, made Addison declare, with an undue vehemence of expression, that he would kill Sir Roger, being of opinion that they were born for one another, and that any other hand would do him wrong

It may be doubted whether Addison ever filled up his original
10 delineation He describes his Knight as having his imagination somewhat warped, but of this perversion he has made very little use The irregularities in Sir Roger's conduct, seem not so much the effects of a mind deviating from the beaten track of life, by the perpetual pressure of some overwhelming idea, as of habitual rusticity, and that negligence which solitary grandeur naturally generates

The variable weather of the mind, the flying vapours of incipient madness, which from time to time cloud reason, without eclipsing it, it requires so much nicety to exhibit, that Addison seems to have been deterred from prosecuting his own design

20 To Sir Roger, who, as a country gentleman, appears to be a Tory, or, as it is gently expressed, an adherent to the landed interest, is opposed Sir Andrew Freeport, a new man, a wealthy merchant, zealous for the moneyed interest, and a Whig Of this contrariety of opinions, it is probable more consequences were at first intended, than could be produced when the resolution was taken to exclude party from the paper. Sir Andrew does but little, and that little seems not to have pleased Addison, who, when he dismissed him from the club, changed his opinions Steele had made him, in the true spirit of unfeeling commerce, declare that he *would not build an*
30 *hospital for idle people*, but at last he buys land, settles in the country and builds not a manufactory, but an hospital for twelve old husbandmen, for men with whom a merchant has little acquaintance, and whom he commonly considers with little kindness

Of essays thus elegant, thus instructive, and thus commodiously distributed, it is natural to suppose the approbation general and the sale numerous I once heard it observed, that the sale may be calculated by the product of the tax, related in the last number to produce more than twenty pounds a week, and therefore stated at one, and twenty pounds, or three pounds ten shillings a day this, at a
40 half-penny a paper, will give sixteen hundred and eighty for the daily number.

This sale is not great ; yet this, if Swift be credited, was likely to grow less ; for he declares that the "Spectator," whom he ridicules for his endless mention of the *fair sex*, had before his recess wearied his readers.

The next year (1713), in which "Cato" came upon the stage, was the grand climacterick of Addison's reputation. Upon the death of Cato, he had, as is said, planned a tragedy in the time of his travels, and had for several years the four first acts finished, which were shewn to such as were likely to spread their admiration. They were seen by Pope, and by Cibber, who relates that Steele, when he took 10 back the copy, told him, in the despicable cant of literary modesty, that, whatever spirit his friend had shewn in the composition, he doubted whether he would have courage sufficient to expose it to the censure of a British audience.

The time however was now come, when those who affected to think liberty in danger, affected likewise to think that a stage-play might preserve it, and Addison was importuned, in the name of the tutelary deities of Britain, to shew his courage and his zeal by finishing his design.

To resume his work he seemed perversely and unaccountably un- 20 willing, and by a request, which perhaps he wished to be denied, desired Mr Hughes to add a fifth act. Hughes supposed him serious, and, undertaking the supplement, brought in a few days some scenes for his examination, but he had in the mean time gone to work himself, and produced half an act, which he afterwards completed, but with brevity irregularly disproportionate to the foregoing parts, like a task performed with reluctance, and hurried to its conclusion.

It may yet be doubted whether "Cato" was made publick by any change of the author's purpose ; for Dennis charged him with raising 30 prejudices in his own favour by false positions of preparatory criticism, and with *poisoning the town* by contradicting in the "Spectator" the established rule of poetical justice, because his own hero, with all his virtues, was to fall before a tyrant. The fact is certain ; the motives we must guess.

Addison was, I believe, sufficiently disposed to bar all avenues against all danger. When Pope brought him the prologue, which is properly accommodated to the play, there were these words, *Birtons, arise, be worth like this approved*, meaning nothing more than, Birtons, erect and exalt yourselves to the approbation of public virtue. 40

Addison was frighted lest he should be thought a promoter of insurrection, and the line was liquidated to *Britons, attend*

Now, *heavily in clouds came on the day, the great, the important day*, when Addison was to stand the hazard of the theatre That there might, however, be left as little to hazard as was possible, on the first night Steele, as himself relates, undertook to pack an audience This, says Pope, had been tried for the first time in favour of the "Distrest Mother," and was now, with more efficacy, practised for "Cato "

10 The danger was soon over The whole nation was at that time on fire with faction The Whigs applauded every line in which Liberty was mentioned, as a satire on the Tories, and the Tories echoed every clap, to shew that the satire was unfelt The story of Bolingbroke is well known He called Booth to his box, and gave him fifty guineas for defending the cause of Liberty so well against a perpetual dictator The Whigs, says Pope, design a second present, when they can accompany it with as good a sentence

The play, supported thus by the emulation of factious praise, was acted night after night for a longer time than, I believe, the publick
20 had allowed to any drama before, and the author, as Mrs Porter long afterwards related, wandered through the whole exhibition behind the scenes with restless and unappeasable solicitude

When it was printed, notice was given that the Queen would be pleased if it was dedicated to her, *but as he had designed that compliment elsewhere, he found himself obliged*, says Tickell, *by his duty on the one hand, and his honour on the other, to send it into the world without any dedication*

Human happiness has always its abatements, the brightest sunshine of success is not without a cloud No sooner was "Cato"
30 offered to the reader, than it was attacked by the acute malignity of Dennis, with all the violence of angry criticism Dennis, though equally zealous, and probably by his temper more furious than Addison, for what they called liberty, and though a flatterer of the Whig ministry, could not sit quiet at a successful play, but was eager to tell friends and enemies, that they had misplaced their admirations The world was too stubborn for instruction, with the fate of the censurer of Corneille's "Cid," his animadversions shewed his anger without effect, and "Cato" continued to be praised

Pope had now an opportunity of courting the friendship of Addison, by vilifying his old enemy, and could give resentment its full
40

play without appearing to revenge himself He therefore published "A Narrative of the madness of John Dennis," a performance which left the objections to the play in their full force, and therefore discovered more desire of vexing the critick than of defending the poet

Addison, who was no stranger to the world, probably saw the selfishness of Pope's friendship, and, resolving that he should have the consequences of his officiousness to himself, informed Dennis by Steele, that he was sorry for the insult, and that whenever he should think fit to answer his remarks, he would do it in a manner to which nothing could be objected.

10

The greatest weakness of the play is in the scenes of love, which are said by Pope to have been added to the original plan upon a subsequent review, in compliance with the popular practice of the stage. Such an authority it is hard to reject, yet the love is so intimately mingled with the whole action, that it cannot easily be thought extrinsick and adventitious, for if it were taken away, what would be left? or how were the four acts filled in the first draught?

At the publication the Wits seemed proud to pay their attendance with ecomiastick verses The best are from an unknown hand, which will perhaps lose somewhat of their praise when the author 20 is known to be Jeffreys

"Cato" had yet other honours It was censured as a party-play by a *Scholar of Oxford* and defended in a favourable examination by Dr Sewel It was translated by Salvini into Italian, and acted at Florence, and by the Jesuits of St. Omer's into Latin, and played by their pupils Of this version a copy was sent to Mr Addison it is to be wished that it could be found, for the sake of comparing their version of the soliloquy with that of Bland

A tragedy was written on the same subject by Des Champs, a French poet, which was translated, with a criticism on the English 30 play But the translator and the critick are now forgotten

Dennis lived on unanswered, and therefore little read Addison knew the policy of literature too well to make his enemy important, by drawing the attention of the publick upon a criticism, which, though sometimes intemperate, was often irrefragable

While "Cato" was upon the stage, another daily paper, called "The Guardian," was published by Steele To this, Addison gave great assistance, whether occasionally or by previous engagement is not known.

The character of "Guardian" was too narrow and too serious it might properly enough admit both the duties and the decencies of life, but seemed not to include literary speculations, and was in some degree violated by merriment and burlesque What had the Guardian of the Lizards to do with clubs of tall or of little men, with nests of ants, or with Strada's prolusions ?

Of this paper nothing is necessary to be said, but that it found many contributors, and that it was a continuation of the "Spectator," with the same elegance, and the same variety, till some unlucky
 10 sparkle from a Tory paper set Steele's politicks on fire, and wit at once blazed into faction He was soon too hot for neutral topicks, and quitted the "Guardian" to write the "Englishman "

The papers of Addison are marked in the "Spectator" by one of the Letters in the name of "Clio," and in the "Guardian" by a *hand*, whether it was, as Tickell pretends to think, that he was unwilling to usurp the praise of others, or as Steele, with far greater likelihood, insinuates, that he could not without discontent impart to others any of his own I have heard that his avidity did not satisfy
 20 itself with the air of renown, but that with great eagerness he laid hold on his proportion of the profits

Many of these papers were written with powers truly comick, with nice discrimination of characters, and accurate observation of natural or; accidental deviations from propriety, but it was not supposed that he had tried a comedy on the stage, till Steele, after his death, declared him the author of the "Drummer," this however Steele did not know to be true by any direct testimony, for when Addison put the play into his hands, he only told him, it was the work of a *Gentleman in the Company*, and when it was received, as is confessed, with cold disapprobation, he was probably less
 30 willing to claim it Tickell omitted it in his collection, but the testimony of Steele, and the total silence of any other claimant, has determined the publick to assign it to Addison, and it is now printed with his other poetry Steele carried the "Drummer" to the playhouse, and afterwards to the press, and sold the copy for fifty guineas

To the opinion of Steele may be added the proof supplied by the play itself, of which the characters are such as Addison would have delineated, and the tendency such as Addison would have promoted That it should have been ill received would raise won-
 40 der, did we not daily see the capricious distribution of theatrical praise.

He was not all this time an indifferent spectator of publick affairs. He wrote, as different exigences required (in 1707), "The present State of the War, and the Necessity of an Augmentation," which, however judicious, being written on temporary topicks, and exhibiting no peculiar powers, laid hold on no attention, and has naturally sunk by its own weight into neglect. This cannot be said of the few papers entitled "The Whig Examiner," in which is employed all the force of gay malevolence and humorous satire. Of this paper, which just appeared and expired, Swift remarks, with exultation, that *it is now down among the dead men*. He might well 10 rejoice at the death of that which he could not have killed. Every reader of every party, since personal malice is past, and the papers which once inflamed the nation are read only as effusions of wit, must wish for more of the "Whig Examiners;" for on no occasion was the genius of Addison more vigorously exerted, and on none did the superiority of his powers more evidently appear. His "Trial of Count Tariff," written to expose the Treaty of Commerce with France, lived no longer than the question that produced it.

Not long afterwards an attempt was made to revive the "Spectator," at a time indeed by no means favourable to literature, 20 when the succession of a new family to the throne filled the nation with anxiety, discord, and confusion and either the turbulence of the times, or the satiety of the readers, put a stop to the publication, after an experiment of eighty numbers, which were afterwards collected into an eighth volume, perhaps more valuable than any one of those that went before it. Addison produced more than a fourth part, and the other contributors are by no means unworthy of appearing as his associates. The time that had passed during the suspension of the "Spectator," though it had not lessened his power of humour, seems to have increased his disposition to serious- 30 ness. the proportion of his religious to his comick papers is greater than in the former series.

The "Spectator," from its recommencement, was published only three times a week, and no discriminative marks were added to the papers. To Addison Tickell has ascribed twenty-three

The "Spectator" had many contributors, and Steele, whose negligence kept him always in a hurry, when it was his turn to furnish a paper, called loudly for the Letters, of which Addison, whose materials were more, made little use, having recourse to sketches and hints, the product of his former studies, which he now 40 reviewed and completed among these are named by Tickell the

"Essays on Wit," those on the "Pleasures of the Imagination," and the "Criticism on Milton."

When the House of Hanover took possession of the throne, it was reasonable to expect that the zeal of Addison would be suitably rewarded. Before the arrival of king George, he was made secretary to the regency, and was required by his office to send notice to Hanover that the Queen was dead, and that the throne was vacant. To do this would not have been difficult to any man but Addison, who was so overwhelmed with the greatness of the event, and so
10 distracted by choice of expression, that the lords, who could not wait for the niceties of criticism, called Mr Southwell, a clerk in the house, and ordered him to dispatch the message. Southwell readily told what was necessary, in the common style of business, and valued himself upon having done what was too hard for Addison.

He was better qualified for the "Freeholder," a paper which he published twice a week, from Dec 23, 1715, to the middle of the next year. This was undertaken in defence of the established government, sometimes with argument, sometimes with mirth. In argument he had many equals, but his humour was singular and match-
20 less. Bigotry itself must be delighted with the Tory-Fox-hunter.

There are however some strokes less elegant, and less decent, such as the "Pretender's Journal," in which one topick of ridicule is his poverty. This mode of abuse had been employed by Milton against king Charles II.

— — — — — *Jacobæ*
Centum exulantis viscera marsupii regis "

And Oldmixon delights to tell of some alderman of London, that he had more money than the exiled princes, but that which might be expected from Milton's savageness, or Oldmixon's meanness, was
30 not suitable to the delicacy of Addison.

Steele thought the humour of the "Freeholder" too nice and gentle for such noisy times, and is reported to have said that the ministry made use of a lute, when they should have called for a trumpet.

This year (1716) he married the countess dowager of Warwick, whom he had solicited by a very long and anxious courtship, perhaps with behaviour not very unlike that of Sir Roger to his disdainful widow, and who, I am afraid, diverted herself often by playing with his passion. He is said to have first known her by be-
40 coming tutor to her son. "He formed," said Tonson, "the design

of getting that lady, from the time when he was first recommended into the family " In what part of his life he obtained the recommendation, or how long, and in what manner he lived in the family, I know not His advances at first were certainly timorous, but grew bolder as his reputation and influence increased, till at last the lady was persuaded to marry him, on terms much like those on which a Turkish princess is espoused, to whom the Sultan is reported to pronounce, " Daughter, I give thee this man for thy slave." The marriage, if uncontradicted report can be credited, made no addition to his happiness, it neither found them nor made them 10 equal She always remembered her own rank, and thought herself entitled to treat with very little ceremony the tutor of her son. Rowe's ballad of the "Despairing Shepherd" is said to have been written, either before or after marriage, upon this memorable pair; and it is certain that Addison has left behind him no encouragement for ambitious love

The year after (1717) he rose to his highest elevation, being made secretary of state For this employment he might be justly supposed qualified by long practice of business, and by his regular ascent through other offices; but expectation is often disappointed, 20 it is universally confessed that he was unequal to the duties of his place In the house of commons he could not speak, and therefore was useless to the defence of the government In the office, says Pope, he could not issue an order without losing his time in quest of fine expressions What he gained in rank, he lost in credit, and, finding by experience his own inability, was forced to solicit his dismissal, with a pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year. His friends palliated this relinquishment, of which both friends and enemies knew the true reason, with an account of declining health, and the necessity of recess and quiet 30

He now returned to his vocation, and began to plan literary occupations for his future life He purposed a tragedy on the death of Socrates, a story of which, as Tickell remarks, the basis is narrow, and to which I know not how love could have been appended There would however have been no want either of virtue in the sentiments, or elegance in the language

He engaged in a nobler work, a defence of the *Christian Religion*, of which part was published after his death, and he designed to have made a new poetical version of the Psalms

These pious compositions Pope imputed to a selfish motive, upon 40 the credit, as he owns, of Tonson, who having quarrelled with Add:-

son, and not loving him, said, that, when he laid down the secretary's office, he intended to take orders, and obtain a bishoprick, *for*, said he, *I always thought him a priest in his heart*

That Pope should have thought this conjecture of Tonson worth remembrance is a proof, but indeed so far as I have found, the only proof, that he retained some malignity from their ancient rivalry. Tonson pretended but to guess it, no other mortal ever suspected it, and Pope might have reflected, that a man who had been secretary of state, in the ministry of Sunderland, knew a nearer way to a
10 bishoprick than by defending Religion, or translating the Psalms

It is related that he had once a design to make an English Dictionary, and that he considered Dr Tillotson as the writer of highest authority There was formerly sent to me by Mr Locker, clerk of the Leathersellers Company, who was eminent for curiosity and literature, a collection of examples selected from Tillotson's works, as Locker said, by Addison It came too late to be of use, so I inspected it but slightly, and remember it indistinctly I thought the passages too short

Addison however did not conclude his life in peaceful studies,
20 but relapsed, when he was near his end, to a political dispute.

It so happened that (1718-19) a controversy was agitated, with great vehemence, between those friends of long continuance, Addison and Steele. It may be asked, in the language of Homer, what power or what cause could set them at variance The subject of their dispute was of great importance The earl of Sunderland proposed an act called the "Peerage Bill," by which the number of peers should be fixed, and the king restrained from any new creation of nobility, unless when an old family should be extinct To this the lords would naturally agree, and the king who was yet
30 little acquainted with his own prerogative, and, as is now well known, almost indifferent to the possessions of the Crown, had been persuaded to consent The only difficulty was found among the commons, who were not likely to approve the perpetual exclusion of themselves and their posterity. The bill therefore was eagerly opposed, and among others by Sir Robert Walpole, whose speech was published

The lords might think their dignity diminished by improper advancements, and particularly by the introduction of twelve new peers at once, to produce a majority of Tories in the last reign, an
40 act of authority violent enough, yet certainly legal, and by no means

to be compared with that contempt of national right, with which some time afterwards, by the instigation of Whiggism, the commons, chosen by the people for three years, chose themselves for seven. But, whatever might be the disposition of the lords, the people had no wish to increase their power. The tendency of the bill, as Steele observed in a letter to the earl of Oxford, was to introduce an Aristocracy, for a majority in the house of lords, so limited, would have been despotick and irresistible.

To prevent this subversion of the ancient establishment, Steele, whose pen readily seconded his political passions, endeavoured to 10 alarm the nation by a pamphlet called "The Plebeian," to this an answer was published by Addison, under the title of "The Old Whig," in which it is not discovered that Steele was then known to be the advocate for the commons. Steele replied by a second "Plebeian," and, whether by ignorance or by courtesy, confined himself to his question, without any personal notice of his opponent. Nothing hitherto was committed against the laws of friendship, or proprieties of decency, but controvertists cannot long retain their kindness for each other. The "Old Whig" answered the "Plebeian," and could not forbear some contempt of "little Dicky, 20 whose trade it was to write pamphlets." Dicky however did not lose his settled veneration for his friend, but contented himself with quoting some lines of "Cato," which were at once detection and reproof. The bill was laid aside during that session, and Addison died before the next, in which its commitment was rejected by two hundred sixty-five to one hundred sixty-seven.

Every reader surely must regret that these two illustrious friends, after so many years past in confidence and endearment, in unity of interest, conformity of opinion, and fellowship of study, should finally part in acrimonious opposition. Such a controversy was *Bel- 30 lum plusquam civile*, as Lucan expresses it. Why could not faction find other advocates? But, among the uncertainties of the human state, we are doomed to number the instability of friendship.

Of this dispute I have little knowledge but from the "Biographia Britannica." The "Old Whig" is not inserted in Addison's works, nor is it mentioned by Tickell in his "Life," why it was omitted the biographers doubtless give the true reason, the fact was too recent, and those who had been heated in the contention were not yet cool.

The necessity of complying with times, and of sparing persons, 40 is the great impediment of biography. History may be formed

from permanent monuments and records, but Lives can only be written from personal knowledge, which is growing every day less, and in a short time is lost for ever. What is known can seldom be immediately told, and when it might be told, it is no longer known. The delicate features of the mind, the nice discriminations of character, and the minute peculiarities of conduct, are soon obliterated, and it is surely better that caprice, obstinacy, frolick, and folly, however they might delight in the description, should be silently forgotten, than that, by wanton merriment and unseasonable detection, a pang should be given to a widow, a daughter, a brother, or a friend. As the process of these narratives is now bringing me among my contemporaries, I begin to feel myself *walking upon ashes under which the fire is not extinguished*, and coming to the time of which it will be proper rather to say *nothing that is false, than all that is true*.

The end of this useful life was now approaching—Addison had for some time been oppressed by shortness of breath, which was now aggravated by a dropsy, and, finding his danger pressing, he prepared to die conformably to his own precepts and professions.

During this lingering decay, he sent, as Pope relates, a message by the earl of Warwick to Mr Gay, desiring to see him. Gay, who had not visited him for some time before, obeyed the summons, and found himself received with great kindness. The purpose for which the interview had been solicited was then discovered. Addison told him, that he had injured him, but that, if he recovered, he would recompense him. What the injury was he did not explain, nor did Gay ever know, but supposed that some preferment designed for him, had, by Addison's intervention, been withheld.

Lord Warwick was a young man of very irregular life, and perhaps of loose opinions. Addison, for whom he did not want respect, had very diligently endeavoured to reclaim him, but his arguments and expostulations had no effect. One experiment, however, remained to be tried. When he found his life near its end, he directed the young lord to be called, and when he desired, with great tenderness, to hear his last injunctions, told him, *I have sent for you that you may see how a Christian can die*. What effect this awful scene had on the earl I know not, he likewise died himself in a short time.

In Tickell's excellent Elegy on his friend are these lines

40 "He taught us how to live, and, oh! too high
The price of knowledge, taught us how to die"

In which he alludes, as he told Dr Young, to this moving interview

Having given directions to Mr Tickell for the publication of his works, and dedicated them on his death-bed to his friend Mr. Craggs, he died June 17, 1719, at Holland-house, leaving no child but a daughter

Of his virtue it is a sufficient testimony, that the resentment of party has transmitted no charge of any crime. He was not one of those who are praised only after death; for his merit was so generally acknowledged, that Swift, having observed that his election passed without a contest, adds, that if he had proposed himself for 10 king, he would hardly have been refused.

His zeal for his party did not extinguish his kindness for the merit of his opponents; when he was secretary in Ireland, he refused to intermit his acquaintance with Swift.

Of his habits, or external manners, nothing is so often mentioned as that timorous or sullen taciturnity, which his friends called modesty by too mild a name. Steele mentions with great tenderness "that remarkable bashfulness, which is a cloak that hides and muffles merit," and tells us, that "his abilities were covered only by modesty, which doubles the beauties which are seen, and gives 20 credit and esteem to all that are concealed" Chesterfield affirms, that "Addison was the most timorous and awkward man that he ever saw" And Addison, speaking of his own deficiency in conversation, used to say of himself, that, with respect to intellectual wealth, "he could draw bills for a thousand pounds, though he had not a guinea in his pocket"

That he wanted current coin for ready payment, and by that want was often obstructed and distressed; that he was oppressed by an improper and ungraceful timidity, every testimony concurs to prove, but Chesterfield's representation is doubtless hyperbolic 30 That man cannot be supposed very unexpert in the arts of conversation and practice of life, who, without fortune or alliance, by his usefulness and dexterity, became secretary of state, and who died at forty-seven, after having not only stood long in the highest rank of wit and literature, but filled one of the most important offices of state

The time in which he lived, had reason to lament his obstinacy of silence, for "he was," says Steele, "above all men in that talent called humour, and enjoyed it in such perfection, that I have often reflected, after a night spent with him apart from all the world, that 40

I had had the pleasure of conversing with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and Catullus, who had all their wit and nature, heightened with humour more exquisite and delightful than any other man ever possessed" This is the fondness of a friend, let us hear what is told us by a rival "Addison's conversation," says Pope, "had something in it more charming than I have found in any other man. But this was only when familiar before strangers, or perhaps a single stranger, he preserved his dignity by a stiff silence

This modesty was by no means inconsistent with a very high
 10 opinion of his own merit He demanded to be the first name in modern wit, and, with Steele to echo him, used to depreciate Dryden, whom Pope and Congreve defended against them There is no reason to doubt that he suffered too much pain from the prevalence of Pope's poetical reputation, nor is it without strong reason suspected, that by some disingenuous acts he endeavoured to obstruct it, Pope was not the only man whom he insidiously injured, though the only man of whom he could be afraid

His own powers were such as might have satisfied him with conscious excellence Of very extensive learning he has indeed given
 20 no proofs He seems to have had small acquaintance with the sciences, and to have read little except Latin and French, but of the Latin poets his "Dialogues on Medals" shew that he had perused the works with great diligence and skill The abundance of his own mind left him little need of adventitious sentiments, his wit always could suggest what the occasion demanded He had read with critical eyes the important volume of human life, and knew the heart of man from the depths of stratagem to the surface of affectation

What he knew he could easily communicate "This," says
 30 Steele, "was particular in this writer, that, when he had taken his resolution, or made his plan for what he designed to write, he would walk about a room, and dictate it into language with as much freedom and ease as any one could write it down, and attend to the coherence and grammar of what he dictated"

Pope, who can be less suspected of favouring his memory, declares that he wrote very fluently, but was slow and scrupulous in correcting, that many of his "Spectators" were written very fast, and sent immediately to the press, and that it seemed to be for his advantage not to have time for much revision

40 "He would alter," says Pope, "any thing to please his friends, before publication, but would not retouch his pieces afterwards:

and I believe not one word in 'Cato,' to which I made an objection, was suffered to stand "

The last line of "Cato" is Pope's, having been originally written

" And, oh ! 'twas this that ended Cato's life "

Pope might have made more objections to the six concluding lines In the first couplet the words *from hence* are improper, and the second line is taken from Dryden's "Virgil" Of the next couplet, the first verse being included in the second, is therefore useless, and in the third *Discord* is made to produce *Strife*

Of the course of Addison's familiar day, before his marriage, 10 Pope has given a detail He had in the house with him Budgell, and perhaps Philips His chief companions were Steele, Budgell, Philips, Carey, Davenant, and colonel Brett With one or other of these he always breakfasted He studied all morning, then dined at a tavern, and went afterwards to Button's

Button had been a servant in the countess of Warwick's family, who, under the patronage of Addison, kept a coffee-house on the south side of Russel-street, about two doors from Covent-garden Here it was that the wits of that time used to assemble It is said, that when Addison had suffered any vexation from the countess, he 20 withdrew the company from Button's house

From the coffee-house he went again to a tavern, where he often sat late, and drank too much wine In the bottle, discontent seeks for comfort, cowardice for courage, and bashfulness for confidence It is not unlikely that Addison was first seduced to excess by the manumission which he obtained from the servile timidity of his sober hours He that feels oppression from the presence of those to whom he knows himself superior, will desire to set loose his powers of conversation, and who, that ever asked succour from Bacchus, was able to preserve himself from being enslaved by his 30 auxiliary?

Among those friends it was that Addison displayed the elegance of his colloquial accomplishments, which may easily be supposed such as Pope represents them The remark of Mandeville, who, when he had passed an evening in his company, declared that he was a parson in a tye-wig, can detract little from his character, he was always reserved to strangers, and was not incited to uncommon freedom by a character like that of Mandeville

From any minute knowledge of his familiar manners, the intervention of sixty years has now debarred us Steele once promised Congreve and the publick a complete description of his character, but the promises of authors are like the vows of lovers Steele thought no more on his design, or thought on it with anxiety that at last disgusted him, and left his friend in the hands of Tickell

One slight lineament of his character Swift has preserved It was his practice when he found any man invincibly wrong, to flatter his opinions by acquiescence, and sink him yet deeper in absurdity.
 10 This artifice of mischief was admired by Stella, and Swift seems to approve her admiration.

His works will supply some information It appears from his various pictures of the world, that, with all his bashfulness, he had conversed with many distinct classes of men, had surveyed their ways with very diligent observation, and marked with great acuteness the effects of different modes of life He was a man in whose presence nothing reprehensible was out of danger, quick in discerning whatever was wrong or ridiculous, and not unwilling to expose it *There are, says Steele, in his writings many oblique strokes*
 20 *upon some of the wittiest men of the age.* His delight was more to excite merriment than detestation, and he detects follies rather than crimes

If any judgement be made, from his books, of his moral character, nothing will be found but purity and excellence Knowledge of mankind indeed, less extensive than that of Addison, will shew, that to write, and to live, are very different Many who praise virtue, do no more than praise it Yet it is reasonable to believe that Addison's professions and practice were at no great variance, since, amidst that storm of faction in which most of his life was passed,
 30 though his station made him conspicuous, and his activity made him formidable, the character given him by his friends was never contradicted by his enemies of those with whom interest or opinion united him, he had not only the esteem, but the kindness, and of others, whom the violence of opposition drove against him, though he might lose the love, retained the reverence

It is justly observed by Tickell, that he employed wit on the side of virtue and religion He not only made the proper use of wit himself, but taught it to others; and from his time it has been generally subservient to the cause of reason and of truth He has dissipated the prejudice that had long connected gaiety with vice, and easiness of manners with laxity of principles He has restored

virtue to its dignity, and taught innocence not to be ashamed. This is an elevation of literary character, *above all Greek, above all Roman fame*. No greater felicity can genius attain than that of having purified intellectual pleasure, separated mirth from indecency, and wit from licentiousness; of having taught a succession of writers to bring elegance and gaiety to the aid of goodness; and, if I may use expressions yet more awful, of having *turned many to righteousness*

Addison, in his life, and for some time afterwards, was considered by the greater part of readers as supremely excelling both in 10 poetry and criticism. Part of his reputation may be probably ascribed to the advancement of his fortune: when, as Swift observes he became a statesman, and saw poets waiting at his levee, it is no wonder that praise was accumulated upon him. Much likewise may be more honourably ascribed to his personal character: he who, if he had claimed it, might have obtained the diadem, was not likely to be denied the laurel.

But time quickly puts an end to artificial and accidental fame; and Addison is to pass through futurity protected only by his genius. Every name which kindness or interest once raised too high, is in 20 danger, lest the next age should, by the vengeance of criticism, sink it in the same proportion. A great writer has lately styled him *an indifferent poet, and a worse critic*.

His poetry is first to be considered; of which it must be confessed that it has not often those felicities of diction which give lustre to sentiments or that vigour of sentiment that animates diction: there is little of ardour, vehemence, or transport; there is very rarely the awfulness of grandeur, and not very often the splendour of elegance. He thinks justly; but he thinks faintly. This is his general character: to which, doubtless, many single passages will 30 furnish exceptions

Yet, if he seldom reaches supreme excellence, he rarely sinks into dulness and is still more rarely entangled in absurdity. He did not trust his powers enough to be negligent. There is in most of his compositions a calmness and equability, deliberate and cautious, sometimes with little that delights, but seldom with any thing that offends.

Of this kind seem to be his Poems to Dryden, to Somers, and to the King. His "Ode on St. Cecilia" has been imitated by Pope, and has something in it of Dryden's vigour. Of his "Account of 40

the English Poets," he used to speak as a *poor thing*, but it is not worse than his usual strain. He has said, not very judiciously, in his character of Waller

"Thy verse could shew ev'n Cromwell's innocence,
And compliment the storms that bore him hence
O ! had thy Muse not come an age too soon,
But seen great Nassau on the British throne,
How had his triumph glitter'd in thy page !—"

What is this but to say that he who could compliment Cromwell
10 had been the proper poet for king William? Addison however never printed the piece

The "Letter from Italy" has been always praised, but has never been praised beyond its merit. It is more correct, with less appearance of labour, and more elegant, with less ambition of ornament, than any other of his poems. There is however one broken metaphor, of which notice may properly be taken

"Fir'd with that name—
I bridle in my struggling Muse with pain,
That longs to launch into a nobler strain"

20 To *bridle a goddess* is no very delicate idea, but why must she be *bridled*? because she *longs to launch*, an act which was never hindered by a *bridle*, and whither will she *launch*? into a *nobler strain*. She is in the first line a *horse*, in the second a *boat*, and the care of the poet is to keep his *horse* or his *boat* from *singing*

The next composition is the far-famed "Campaign," which Dr Warton has termed a *Gazette in Rhyme*, with harshness not often used by the good-nature of his criticism. Before a censure so severe is admitted, let us consider that War is a frequent subject of Poetry, and then enquire who has described it with more justness
30 and force. Many of our own writers tried their powers upon this year of victory, yet Addison's is confessedly the best performance, his poem is the work of a man not blinded by the dust of learning, his images are not borrowed merely from books. The superiority which he confers upon his hero is not personal prowess, and *mighty bone*, but deliberate intrepidity, a calm command of his passions, and the power of consulting his own mind in the midst of danger. The rejection and contempt of fiction is rational and manly

It may be observed that the last line is imitated by Pope

40 "Marlb'rough's exploits appear divinely bright—
Rais'd of themselves, their genuine charms they boast,
And those that paint them truest, praise them most"

This Pope had in his thoughts , but, not knowing how to use what was not his own, he spoiled the thought when he had borrowed it

"The well-sung woes shall soothe my ghost ,
He best can paint them who shall feel them most "

Martial exploits may be *painted*, perhaps *woes* may be *painted*, but they are surely not *painted* by being *well-sung* it is not easy to paint in song, or to sing in colours

No passage in the "Campaign" has been more often mentioned than the simile of the Angel, which is said in "The Tatler" to be *one of the noblest thoughts that ever entered into the heart of man*, and 10 is therefore worthy of attentive consideration Let it be first enquired whether it be a simile A poetical simile is the discovery of likeness between two actions, in their general nature dissimilar, or of causes terminating by different operations in some resemblance of effect But the mention of another like consequence from a like cause, or of a like performance by a like agency, is not a simile, but an exemplification It is not a simile to say that the Thames waters fields, as the Po waters fields, or that as Hecla vomits flames in Iceland, so Ætna vomits flames in Sicily When Horace says of Pindar, that 20 he pours his violence and rapidity of verse, as a river swollen with rain rushes from the mountain, or of himself, that his genius wanders in quest of poetical decorations, as the bee wanders to collect honey, he, in either case, produces a simile, the mind is impressed with the resemblance of things generally unlike, as unlike as intellect and body But if Pindar had been described as writing with the copiousness and grandeur of Homer, or Horace had told that he reviewed and finished his own poetry with the same care as Isocrates polished his orations, instead of similitude he would have exhibited almost identity, he would have given the same portraits with different names In the poem now examined, when the Eng- 30 lish are represented as gaining a fortified pass, by repetition of attack and perseverance of resolution, their obstinacy of courage and vigour of onset, is well illustrated by the sea that breaks, with incessant battery, the dikes of Holland This is a simile but when Addison, having celebrated the beauty of Marlborough's person, tells us that *Achilles thus was formed with every grace*, here is no simile, but a mere exemplification A simile may be compared to lines converging at a point, and is more excellent as the lines approach from greater distance. an exemplification may be considered as two parallel lines which run on together without approxima- 40 tion, never far separated, and never joined

Marlborough is so like the angel in the poem, that the action of both is almost the same, and performed by both in the same manner. Marlborough *teaches the battle to rage*, the angel *directs the storm*. Marlborough is *unmoved in peaceful thought*, the angel is *calm and serene*. Marlborough stands *unmoved amidst the shock of hosts*, the angel rides *calm in the whirlwind*. The lines on Marlborough are just and noble, but the simile gives almost the same images a second time.

But perhaps this thought, though hardly a simile, was remote
 10 from vulgar conceptions, and required great labour of research, or dexterity of application. Of this, Dr Madden, a name which Ireland ought to honour, once gave me his opinion. *If I had set, said he, ten school-boys to write on the battle of Blenheim, and eight had brought me the Angel, I should not have been surpris'd*.

The opera of "Rosamond," though it is seldom mentioned, is one of the first of Addison's compositions. The subject is well-chosen, the fiction is pleasing, and the praise of Marlborough, for which the scene gives an opportunity, is, what perhaps every human
 20 excellence must be, the product of good-luck improved by genius. The thoughts are sometimes great, and sometimes tender, the versification is easy and gay. There is doubtless some advantage in the shortness of the lines, which there is little temptation to load with expletive epithets. The dialogue seems commonly better than the songs. The two comick characters of Sir Trusty and Grideline, though of no great value, are yet such as the poet intended. Sir Trusty's account of the death of Rosamond is, I think, too grossly absurd. The whole drama is airy and elegant, engaging in its process, and pleasing in its conclusion. If Addison had cultivated the lighter parts of poetry, he would probably have excelled.

30 The tragedy of "Cato," which, contrary to the rule observed in selecting the works of other poets, has by the weight of its character forced its way into the late collection, is unquestionably the noblest production of Addison's genius. Of a work so much read, it is difficult to say any thing new. About things on which the public thinks long, it commonly attains to think right, and of "Cato" it has been not unjustly determined, that it is rather a poem in dialogue than a drama, rather a succession of just sentiments in elegant language, than a representation of natural affections, or of any state probable or possible in human life. Nothing here *excites or ass-*
 40 *wages emotion*, here is *no magical power of raising phantastick terror or wild anxiety*. The events are expected without solicitude, and

are remembered without joy or sorrow Of the agents we have no care we consider not what they are doing, or what they are suffering ; we wish only to know what they have to say Cato is a being above our solicitude , a man of whom the gods take care, and whom we leave to their care with heedless confidence To the rest, neither gods nor men can have much attention , for there is not one amongst them that strongly attracts either affection or esteem But they are made the vehicles of such sentiments and such expression, that there is scarcely a scene in the play which the reader does not wish to impress on his memory

10

When "Cato" was shewn to Pope, he advised the author to print it, without any theatrical exhibition , supposing that it would be read more favourably than heard Addison declared himself of the same opinion , but urged the importunity of his friends for its appearance on the stage The emulation of parties made it successful beyond expectation, and its success has introduced or confirmed among us the use of dialogue too declamatory, of unassuming elegance, and chill philosophy

The universality of applause, however it might quell the censure of common mortals, had no other effect than to harden Dennis in fixed dislike , but his dislike was not merely capricious He found and shewed many faults he shewed them indeed with anger, but he found them with acuteness, such as ought to rescue his criticism from oblivion , though, at last, it will have no other life than it derives from the work which it endeavours to oppress

Why he pays no regard to the opinion of the audience, he gives his reason, by remarking, that

" A deference is to be paid to a general applause, when it appears that that applause is natural and spontaneous , but that little regard is to be had to it, when it is affected and artificial Of all the tragedies which in his memory have had vast and violent runs, not one has been excellent, few have been tolerable, most have been scandalous When a poet writes a tragedy, who knows he has judgement, and who feels he has genius, that poet presumes upon his own merit, and scorns to make a cabal That people come coolly to the representation of such a tragedy, without any violent expectation, or delusive imagination, or invincible prepossession , that such an audience is liable to receive the impressions which the poem shall naturally make in them, and to judge by their own reason, and their own judgements, and that reason and judgement are calm and serene, not formed by nature to make proselytes, and to controul and

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lord it over the imaginations of others But that when an author writes a tragedy, who knows he has neither genius nor judgement, he has recourse to the making a party, and he endeavours to make up in industry what is wanting in talent, and to supply by poetical craft the absence of poetical art that such an author is humbly contented to raise men's passions by a plot without doors, since he despairs of doing it by that which he brings upon the stage That party and passion, and prepossession, are clamorous and tumultuous things, and so much the more clamorous and tumultuous by
 10 how much the more erroneous that they domineer and tyrannize over the imaginations of persons who want judgement, and sometimes too of those who have it, and, like a fierce and outrageous torrent, bear down all opposition before them "

He then condemns the neglect of poetical justice, which is always one of his favourite principles

" 'Tis certainly the duty of every tragick poet, by the exact distribution of poetical justice, to imitate the Divine Dispensation, and to inculcate a particular Providence 'Tis true, indeed, upon the stage of the world, the wicked sometimes prosper, and the guiltless
 20 suffer But that is permitted by the Governour of the world, to shew, from the attribute of his infinite justice, that there is a compensation in futurity, to prove the immortality of the human soul, and the certainty of future rewards and punishments But the poetical persons in tragedy exist no longer than the reading, or the representation, the whole extent of their entity is circumscribed by those; and therefore, during that reading or representation, according to their merits or demerits, they must be punished or rewarded If this is not done, there is no impartial distribution of poetical justice, no instructive lecture of a particular Providence, and no imita-
 30 tion of the Divine Dispensation And yet the author of this tragedy does not only run counter to this, in the fate of his principal character; but every where, throughout it, makes virtue suffer, and vice triumph for not only Cato is vanquished by Cæsar, but the treachery and perfidiousness of Syphax prevails over the honest simplicity and the credulity of Juba, and the sly subtlety and dissimulation of Portius over the generous frankness and open-heartedness of Marcus "

Whatever pleasure there may be in seeing crimes punished and virtue rewarded, yet, since wickedness often prospers in real life,
 40 the poet is certainly at liberty to give it prosperity on the stage For if poetry has an imitation of reality, how are its laws broken

by exhibiting the world in its true form? The stage may sometimes gratify our wishes, but, if it be truly the *mirror of life*, it ought to shew us sometimes what we are to expect

Dennis objects to the characters that they are not natural, or reasonable, but as heroes and heroines are not beings that are seen every day, it is hard to find upon what principles their conduct shall be tried. It is, however, not useless to consider what he says of the manner in which Cato receives the account of his son's death

"Nor is the grief of Cato, in the fourth act, one jot more in nature than that of his son and Lucia in the third. Cato receives 10 the news of his son's death not only with dry eyes but with a sort of satisfaction, and in the same page sheds tears for the calamity of his country, and does the same thing in the next page upon the bare apprehension of the danger of his friends. Now, since the love of one's country is the love of one's countrymen, as I have shewn upon another occasion, I desire to ask these questions. Of all our countrymen, which do we love most, those whom we know, or those whom we know not? And of those whom we know, which do we cherish most, our friends or our enemies? And of our friends, which are the dearest to us? those who are related to us, or those 20 who are not? And of all our relations, for which have we most tenderness, for those who are near to us, or for those who are remote? And of our near relations, which are the nearest, and consequently the dearest to us, our offspring or others? Our offspring, most certainly; as nature, or in other words Providence, has wisely contrived for the preservation of mankind. Now, does it not follow, from what has been said, that for a man to receive the news of his son's death with dry eyes, and to weep at the same time for the calamities of his country, is a wretched affectation, and a miserable inconsistency? Is not that, in plain English, to receive with dry eyes 30 the news of the deaths of those for whose sake our country is a name so dear to us, and at the same time to shed tears for those for whose sakes our country is not a name so dear to us?"

But this formidable assailant is least resistible when he attacks the probability of the action, and the reasonableness of the plan. Every critical reader must remark, that Addison has, with a scrupulosity almost unexampled on the English stage, confined himself in time to a single day, and in place to rigorous unity. The scene never changes, and the whole action of the play passes in the great hall of Cato's house at Utica. Much therefore is done in the hall, 40 for which any other place had been more fit, and this impropriety affords Dennis many hints of merriment, and opportunities of

triumph. The passage is long, but as such disquisitions are not common, and the objections are skilfully formed and vigorously urged, those who delight in critical controversy will not think it tedious

“Upon the departure of Portius, Sempronius makes but one soliloquy, and immediately in comes Syphax, and then the two politicians are at it immediately They lay their heads together, with their snuff-boxes in their hands, as Mr Bayes has it, and feague it away But, in the midst of that wise scene, Syphax seems to give
10 a seasonable caution to Sempronius

“ ‘*Syph* But is it true, Sempronius, that your senate
Is call'd together? Gods! thou must be cautious,
Cato has piercing eyes’

There is a great deal of caution shewn indeed, in meeting in a governor's own hall to carry on their plot against him Whatever opinion they have of his eyes, I suppose they had none of his ears, or they would never have talked at this foolish rate so near

“ ‘Gods! thou must be cautious’

Oh! yes, very cautious for if Cato should overhear you, and turn
20 you off for politicians, Cæsar would never take you, no, Cæsar would never take you

“When Cato, Act II, turns the senators out of the hall, upon pretence of acquainting Juba with the result of their debates, he appears to me to do a thing which is neither reasonable nor civil Juba might certainly have better been made acquainted with the result of that debate in some private apartment of the palace But the poet was driven upon this absurdity to make way for another, and that is, to give Juba an opportunity to demand Marcia of her father But the quarrel and rage of Juba and Syphax, in the same
30 Act, the invective of Syphax against the Romans and Cato, the advice that he gives Juba, in her father's hall, to bear away Marcia by force, and his brutal and clamorous rage upon his refusal, and at a time when Cato was scarce out of sight, and perhaps not out of hearing, at least, some of his guards or domesticks must necessarily be supposed to be within hearing, is a thing that is so far from being probable, that it is hardly possible

“Sempronius, in the second Act, comes back once more in the same morning to the governor's hall, to carry on the conspiracy with Syphax against the governor, his country, and his family,
40 which is so stupid, that it is below the wisdom of the O—'s, the

Mac's, and the Teague's, even Eustace Commins himself would never have gone to Justice-hall, to have conspired against the government. If officers at Portsmouth should lay their heads together, in order to the carrying off J—G—'s niece or daughter, would they meet in J—G—'s hall, to carry on that conspiracy? There would be no necessity for their meeting there, at least till they came to the execution of their plot, because there would be other places to meet in. There would be no probability that they should meet there, because there would be places more private and more commodious. Now there ought to be nothing in a tragical action but what is necessary or probable.

"But treason is not the only thing that is carried on in this hall: that and love, and philosophy, take their turns in it, without any manner of necessity or probability occasioned by the action, as duly and as regularly, without interrupting one another, as if there were a triple league between them, and a mutual agreement that each should give place to and make way for the other, in a due and orderly succession.

"We now come to the third Act. Sempronius, in this Act, comes into the governor's hall, with the leaders of the mutiny but as soon 20 as Cato is gone, Sempronius, who but just before had acted like an unparalleled knave, discovers himself, like an egregious fool, to be an accomplice in the conspiracy.

*"Sempr Know, villains, when such paltry slaves presume
To mix in treason, if the plot succeeds
They're thrown neglected by but if it fails,
They're sure to die like dogs, as you shall do
Here, take these factious monsters, drag them forth
To sudden death —"*

"'Tis true, indeed, the second leader says, there are none there 30 but friends but is that possible at such a juncture? Can a parcel of rogues attempt to assassinate the governor of a town of war, in his own house, in midday, and after they are discovered and defeated, can there be none near them but friends? Is it not plain from these words of Sempronius,

*"Here, take these factious monsters, drag them forth
To sudden death —"*

and from the entrance of the guards upon the word of command, that those guards were within ear-shot? Behold Sempronius then palpably discovered. How comes it to pass, then, that, instead of 40 being hanged up with the rest, he remains secure in the governor's hall, and there carries on his conspiracy against the government,

the third time in the same day, with his old comrade Syphax? who enters at the same time that the guards are carrying away the leaders, big with the news of the defeat of Sempronius, though where he had his intelligence so soon is difficult to imagine. And now the reader may expect a very extraordinary scene. there is not abundance of spirit indeed, nor a great deal of passion, but there is wisdom more than enough to supply all defects

10 *"Syph* Our first design, my friend, has prov'd abortive,
 Still there remains an after-game to play
 My troops are mounted, their Numidian steeds
 Snuff up the winds, and long to scour the desert
 Let but Sempronius lead us in our flight,
 We'll force the gate, where Marcus keeps his guard
 And hew down all that would oppose our passage,
 A day will bring us into Cæsar's camp
Sempr Confusion! I have fail'd of half my purpose,
 Marcia, the charming Marcia's left behind'

"Well! but though he tells us the half-purpose that he has fail'd of, he does not tell us the half that he has carried. But what
 20 does he mean by

"Marcia, the charming Marcia's left behind?"

He is now in her own house, and we have neither seen her nor heard of her any where else since the play began. But now let us hear Syphax

*"What hinders then, but that thou find her out,
 And hurry her away by manly force?"*

But what does old Syphax mean by finding her out? They talk as if she were as hard to be found as a hare in a forsty morning

"Sempr But how to gain admission?"

30 *"Oh! she is found out then, it seems*

*"But how to gain admission? for access
 Is giv'n to none, but Juba and her brothers"*

But, raillery apart, why access to Juba? For he was owned and received as a lover neither by the father nor by the daughter. Well! but let that pass. Syphax puts Sempronius out of pain immediately, and, being a Numidian, abounding in wiles, supplies him with a stratagem for admission, that, I believe, is a non-pareille

40 *"Syph Thou shalt have Juba's dress, and Juba's guards,
 The doors will open, when Numidia's prince
 Seems to appear before them,"*

"Sempronius is, it seems, to pass for Juba in full day at Cato's house, where they were both so very well known, by having Juba's dress and his guards as if one of the marshals of France could pass for the duke of Bavaria, at noon-day, at Versailles, by having his dress and liveries But how does Syphax pretend to help Sempronius to young Juba's dress? Does he serve him in a double capacity, as general and master of his wardrobe? But why Juba's guards? For the devil of any guards has Juba appeared with yet. Well! though this is a mighty politick invention, yet, methinks, they might have done without it for, since the advice that Syphax gave to Sempronius was,

"To hurry her away by manly force,"

in my opinion, the shortest and likeliest way of coming at the lady was by demolishing, instead of putting on an impertinent disguise to circumvent two or three slaves But Sempronius, it seems, is of another opinion He extols to the skies the invention of old Syphax

"*Sempr* Heavens! what a thought was there!"

"Now I appeal to the reader, if I have not been as good as my word. Did I not tell him, that I would lay before him a very wise scene?"

20

"But now let us lay before the reader that part of the scenery of the Fourth Act, which may shew the absurdities which the author has run into, through the indiscreet observance of the Unity of Place I do not remember that Aristotle has said any thing expressly concerning the Unity of Place. 'Tis true, implicitly he has said enough in the rules which he has laid down for the Chorus For, by making the Chorus an essential part of Tragedy, and by bringing it on the stage immediately after the opening of the scene, and retaining it there till the very catastrophe, he has so determined and fixed the place of action, that it was impossible for an author on the Grecian stage to break through that unity I am of opinion, that if a modern tragic poet can preserve the unity of place, without destroying the probability of the incidents, 'tis always best for him to do it, because, by the preservation of that unity, as we have taken notice above, he adds grace, and cleanness, and comeliness, to the representation But since there are no express rules about it, and we are under no compulsion to keep it, since we have no Chorus as the Grecian poet had, if it cannot be preserved, without rendering the greater part of the incidents unreasonable and

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absurd, and perhaps sometimes monstrous, 'tis certainly better to break it

"Now comes bully Sempronius, comically accoutred and equipped with his Numidian dress and his Numidian guards Let the reader attend to him with all his ears , for the words of the wise are precious

" ' *Sempr* The deer is lodg'd, I've track'd her to her covert '

"Now I would fain know why this deer is said to be lodged, since we have not heard one word, since the play began, of her
10 being at all out of harbour and if we consider the discourse with which she and Lucia begin the Act, we have reason to believe that they had hardly been talking of such matters in the street However, to pleasure Sempronius, let us suppose, for once, that the deer is lodged

" ' The deer is lodg'd, I've track'd her to her covert '

"If he had seen her in the open field, what occasion had he to track her, when he had so many Numidian dogs at his heels, which, with one halloo, he might have set upon her haunches? If he did not see her in the open field, how could he possibly track her? If
20 he had seen her in the street, why did he not set upon her in the street, since through the street she must be carried at last? Now here, instead of having his thoughts upon his business, and upon the present danger , instead of meditating and contriving how he shall pass with his mistress through the southern gate, where her brother Marcus is upon the guard, and where she would certainly prove an impediment to him, which is the Roman word for the *baggage* , instead of doing this, Sempronius is entertaining himself with whimsies

30 " ' *Sempr* How will the young Numidian rave to see
His mistress lost ! If aught could glad my soul,
Beyond th' enjoyment of so bright a prize,
'Twould be to torture that young gay Barbarian
But hark ! what noise ! Death to my hopes, 'tis he,
'Tis Juba's self ! There is but one way left '
He must be murder'd, and a passage cut
Through those his guards '

"Pray, what are *those his guards* ? I thought at present, that Juba's guards had been Sempronius's tools, and had been dangling after his heels.

"But now let us sum up all these absurdities together Sempronius goes at noon-day, in Juba's clothes, and with Juba's guards, to Cato's palace, in order to pass for Juba, in a place where they were both so very well known he meets Juba there, and resolves to murder him with his own guards Upon the guards appearing a little bashful, he threatens them

" 'Hah! Dastards, do you tremble!
Or act like men, or by yon azure heav'n!'

"But the guards still remaining restive, Sempronius himself attacks Juba, while each of the guards is representing Mr Spectator's sign 10 of the Gaper, awed, it seems, and terrified by Sempronius's threats. Juba kills Sempronius, and takes his own army prisoners, and carries them in triumph away to Cato Now I would fain know, if any part of Mr Bayes's tragedy is so full of absurdity as this?

"Upon hearing the clash of swords, Lucia and Marcia come in. The question is, why no men come in upon hearing the noise of swords in the governor's hall? Where was the governor himself? Where were his guards? Where were his servants? Such an attempt as this, so near the person of a governor of a place of war, was enough to alarm the whole garrison and yet, for almost half an 20 hour after Sempronius was killed, we find none of those appear, who were the likehest in the world to be alarmed, and the noise of swords is made to draw only two poor women thither, who were most certain to run away from it. Upon Lucia and Marcia's coming in, Lucia appears in all the symptoms of an hysterical gentlewoman

" 'Luc Sure 'twas the clash of swords! my troubled heart
Is so cast down, and sunk amidst its sorrows,
It throbs with fear, and akes at every sound!'

And immediately her old whimsy returns upon her

30

" 'O Marcia, should thy brothers, for my sake—
I die away with horror at the thought'

She fancies that there can be no cutting-of-throats, but it must be for her If this is tragical, I would fain know what is comical Well! upon this they spy the body of Sempronius, and Marcia, deluded by the habit, it seems, takes him for Juba, for, says she,

" 'The face is muffled up within the garment'

Now how a man could fight, and fall with his face muffled up in his garment, is, I think, a little hard to conceive! Besides, Juba, before he killed him, knew him to be Sempronius. It was not by his garment that he knew this, it was by his face then his face therefore was not muffled. Upon seeing this man with the muffled face, Marcia falls a-raving, and, owning her passion for the supposed defunct, begins to make his funeral oration. Upon which Juba enters listening, I suppose on tip-toe for I cannot imagine how any one can enter listening, in any other posture. I would fain know how it
 10 came to pass, that during all this time he had sent nobody, no not so much as a candle-snuffer, to take away the dead body of Sempronius. Well! but let us regard him listening. Having left his apprehension behind him, he, at first, applies what Marcia says to Sempronius. But finding at last, with much ado, that he himself is the happy man, he quits his eve-dropping, and discovers himself just time enough to prevent his being cuckolded by a dead man, of whom the moment before he had appeared so jealous, and greedily intercepts the bliss, which was fondly designed for one who could not be the better for it. But here I must ask a question how comes
 20 Juba to listen here, who had not listened before throughout the play? Or, how comes he to be the only person of this tragedy who listens, when love and treason were so often talked in so publick a place as a hall? I am afraid the author was driven upon all these absurdities only to introduce this miserable mistake of Marcia, which, after all, is much below the dignity of tragedy, as any thing is which is the effect or result of trick.

"But let us come to the scenery of the Fifth Act. Cato appears first upon the scene, sitting in a thoughtful posture, in his hand Plato's treatise on the 'Immortality of the Soul,' a drawn sword on
 30 the table by him. Now let us consider the place in which this sight is presented to us. The place, forsooth, is a long hall. Let us suppose, that any one should place himself in this posture, in the midst of one of our halls in London, that he should appear *solus*, in a sudden posture, a drawn sword on the table by him, in his hand Plato's treatise on the 'Immortality of the Soul,' translated lately by Bernard Lintot. I desire the reader to consider, whether such a person as this would pass with them who beheld him, for a great patriot, a great philosopher, or a general, or for some whimsical person who fancied himself all these, and whether the people, who
 40 belonged to the family, would think that such a person had a design upon their midriffs or his own?"

"In short, that Cato should sit long enough, in the aforesaid posture, in the midst of this large hall, to read over Plato's treatise on the 'Immortality of the Soul,' which is a lecture of two long hours, that he should propose to himself to be private there upon that occasion; that he should be angry with his son for intruding there, then, that he should leave this hall upon the pretence of sleep, give himself the mortal wound in his bedchamber, and then be brought back into that hall to expire, purely to shew his good-breeding, and save his friends the trouble of coming up to his bedchamber, all this appears to me to be improbable, incredible, impossible"

Such is the censure of Dennis. There is, as Dryden expresses it, perhaps *too much horseplay in his raillery*; but if his jests are coarse, his arguments are strong. Yet as we love better to be pleased than to be taught, "Cato" is read, and the critick is neglected.

Flushed with consciousness of these detections of absurdity in the conduct, he afterwards attacked the sentiments of "Cato," but he then amused himself with petty cavils, and minute objections.

Of Addison's smaller poems, no particular mention is necessary, 20 they have little that can employ or require a critick. The parallel of the Princes and Gods, in his verses to Kneller, is often happy, but is too well known to be quoted.

His translations, so far as I have compared them, want the exactness of a scholar. That he understood his authors cannot be doubted, but his versions will not teach others to understand them, being too licentiously paraphrastical. They are however, for the most part, smooth and easy, and, what is the first excellence of a translator, such as may be read with pleasure by those who do not know the originals.

30

His poetry is polished and pure, the product of a mind too judicious to commit faults, but not sufficiently vigorous to attain excellence. He has sometimes a striking line, or a shining paragraph, but in the whole he is warm rather than fervid, and shews more dexterity than strength. He was however one of our earliest examples of correctness.

The versification which he had learned from Dryden, he debased rather than refined. His rhymes are often dissonant, in his Georgick he admits broken lines. He uses both triplets and alexandrines, but triplets more frequently in his translations than his other works. The mere structure of verses seems never to have 40

engaged much of his care But his lines are very smooth in "Rosamond," and too smooth in "Cato"

Addison is now to be considered as a critick, a name which the present generation is scarcely willing to allow him His criticism is condemned as tentative or experimental, rather than scientifick, and he is considered as deciding by taste rather than by principles

It is not uncommon for those who have grown wise by the labour of others, to add a little of their own, and overlook their masters Addison is now despised by some who perhaps would never have
 10 seen his defects, but by the lights which he afforded them That he always wrote as he would think it necessary to write now, cannot be affirmed, his instructions were such as the character of his readers made proper That general knowledge which now circulates in common talk, was in his time rarely to be found Men not professing learning were not ashamed of ignorance, and in the female world, any acquaintance with books was distinguished only to be censured His purpose was to infuse literary curiosity, by gentle and unsuspected conveyance, into the gay, the idle, and the wealthy, he therefore presented knowledge in the most alluring form, not
 20 lofty and austere, but accessible and familiar When he shewed them their defects, he shewed them likewise that they might be easily supplied His attempt succeeded, enquiry was awakened, and comprehension expanded An emulation of intellectual elegance was excited, and from his time to our own, life has been gradually exalted, and conversation purified and enlarged

Dryden had, not many years before, scattered criticism over his Prefaces with very little parcimony, but, though he sometimes condescended to be somewhat familiar, his manner was in general too
 30 scholastick for those who had yet their rudiments to learn, and found it not easy to understand their master His observations were framed rather for those that were learning to write, than for those that read only to talk

An instructor like Addison was now wanting, whose remarks being superficial, might be easily understood, and being just, might prepare the mind for more attainments Had he presented "Paradise Lost" to the publick with all the pomp of system and severity of science, the criticism would perhaps have been admired, and the poem still have been neglected, but by the blandishments of gentleness and facility, he has made Milton an universal favourite, with
 40 whom readers of every class think it necessary to be pleased

He descended now and then to lower disquisitions; and by a serious display of the beauties of "Chevy Chase," exposed himself to the ridicule of Wagstaff, who bestowed a like pompous character on "Tom Thumb;" and to the contempt of Dennis, who, considering the fundamental position of his criticism, that "Chevy Chase" pleases, and ought to please, because it is natural, observes, "that there is a way of deviating from nature, by bombast or tumour, which soars above nature, and enlarges images beyond their real bulk; by affectation, which forsakes nature in quest of something unsuitable, and by imbecility, which degrades nature by faintness and diminution, by obscuring its appearances, and weakening its effects." In "Chevy Chase" there is not much of either bombast or affectation, but there is dull and lifeless imbecility. The story cannot possibly be told in a manner that shall make less impression on the mind.

Before the profound observers of the present race repose too securely on the consciousness of their superiority to Addison, let them consider his "Remarks on Ovid," in which may be found specimens of criticism sufficiently subtle and refined; let them peruse likewise his Essays on "Wit," and on the "Pleasures of Imagination," in which he founds art on the base of nature, and draws the principles of invention from dispositions inherent in the mind of man, with skill and elegance, such as his contemporaries will not easily attain.

As a describer of life and manners, he must be allowed to stand perhaps the first of the first rank. His humour, which, as Steele observes, is peculiar to himself, is so happily diffused as to give the grace of novelty to domestick scenes and daily occurrences. He never *outsteps the modesty of nature*, nor raises merriment or wonder by the violation of truth. His figures neither divert by distortion, nor amaze by aggravation. He copies life with so much fidelity, that he can be hardly said to invent; yet his exhibitions have an air so much original, that it is difficult to suppose them not merely the product of imagination. As a teacher of wisdom, he may be confidently followed. His religion has nothing in it enthusiastick or superstitious: he appears neither weakly credulous nor wantonly sceptical, his morality is neither dangerously lax, nor impracticably rigid. All the enchantment of fancy, and all the cogency of argument, are employed to recommend to the reader his real interest, the care of pleasing the Author of his being. Truth is shewn sometimes as the phantom of a vision, sometimes appears half-veiled in an allegory; sometimes attracts regard in the robes of

fancy, and sometimes steps forth in the confidence of reason She wears a thousand dresses, and in all is pleasing.

"Mille habet ornatus, mille decentei habet"

His prose is the model of the middle style; on grave subjects not formal, on light occasions not groveling, pure without scrupulosity, and exact without apparent elaboration, always equable, and always easy, without glowing words or pointed sentences. Addison never deviates from his track to snatch a grace; he seeks no ambitious ornaments, and tries no hazardous innovations His
10 page is always luminous, but never blazes in unexpected splendour.

It was apparently his principal endeavour to avoid all harshness and severity of diction, he is therefore sometimes verbose in his transitions and connections, and sometimes descends too much to the language of conversation; yet if his language had been less idiomatical, it might have lost somewhat of its genuine Anglicism. What he attempted, he performed, he is never feeble, and he did not wish to be energetick, he is never rapid, and he never stagnates His sentences have neither studied amplitude, nor affected brevity his periods, though not diligently rounded, are voluble and easy
20 Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison

NOTES

ADDISON'S EARLY LIFE He was born May 1st 1672 at Milston in Wiltshire, and afterwards went to Lichfield, where stories of an escapade as a schoolboy shew his early tendency to take the lead among his fellows. Enters Charterhouse, where he made the acquaintance of Steele. Addison's treatment of Steele. he was always unduly patronizing and severe towards his friend, and even summoned him for the non-payment of a loan.

Page 1 2 Lancelot Addison A Tory and High Churchman, unlike his son One of the first English Orientalists His opposition to William III's religious policy prevented him becoming a bishop He died 1703.

Ambrosebury Now corrupted to Amesbury A town near Salisbury in Wiltshire

13 Lichfield. Johnson himself was born and bred at Lichfield (a little cathedral town in Staffordshire), hence he was able to pick up this story It is curious that no other information about Addison's boyhood was abroad except this piece of trivial, and probably legendary, gossip

22 petulant Impatient, disorderly.

23 recess Holidays—vacation.

Page 2 2 Chartreux Now corrupted to *Charterhouse*. This famous public school was the *alma mater* of Thackeray, and readers of that author will remember the splendid and pathetic closing scene of the "Newcomes" The present Merchant Taylors School occupies the old Charterhouse school-buildings, Charterhouse School being now situated at Godalming Like many of our schools and colleges, the Charterhouse was originally a monastery belonging to the famous Carthusian monks

3 Founder's benefaction A foundation scholarship,—i.e., a scholarship given from the interest on money left for that purpose by the founder.

7 **Richard Steele** Steele resembles Goldsmith in many ways. He was utterly unable to manage his affairs, and though he had an income of £600 per annum from his wife's West Indian property and £300 more as official *Gazeteer*, he was always poor. There was often "not an inch of candle, or a pound of meat" in the house. Addison, who had known real poverty, may have acted harshly to try and bring him to his senses. If the sum was, as Courthope (apparently on the strength of an assertion of Benjamin Victor) states £1,000, and not £100, it was a serious matter to Addison. Besides, there is no evidence that the warrant was ever actually issued. This, together with the fact that Steele continued to regard Addison with the tenderest affection down to the time of the unhappy rupture of 1715, makes us think that Johnson is rather unjust to Addison in this passage.

Steele's chief prose works were *The Tatler* 1709, the *Spectator* (with Addison) 1710—1712, the *Guardian* (alone) and the *Plebeian* 1719, which caused the rupture with Addison. Addison died soon after, and Steele (who died in poverty in 1723) never had an opportunity of a reconciliation.

19. **sneer of jocularly** Jokes made at Steele's expense, of an unkind character *Necessitous*, hard up for money *Exigence*, need *Obduracy*, hard heartedness *Sensibility*, *i.e.*, he felt it acutely, he was very much hurt. Notice the number of ponderous Latinisms in this sentence, quite after Johnson's manner. An *execution* is a warrant for the seizure of a person's goods in return for a non-payment of debt.

COLLEGE-LIFE AND TRAVELS 1687—1704.

Addison went to Oxford in 1687, he was made a Demy of Magdalen in 1689; he took his M.A. in 1693, and was a fellow of Magdalen, 1698—1711. He was chiefly noted for his Latin poems published in 1699. They attracted the favourable notice of BOILEAU. In 1693 appeared his first English poem, "Verses to Dryden", and in the following year his "Account of the Greatest English Poets" in verse, was published in Dryden's "Miscellany". By his poem to William III (1695) and his verses on the "Peace of Ryswick" (1697) he attracted the notice of Government and, by the good offices of Lord Montague, obtained an allowance of £300 per annum to travel on the continent. He went to France, Italy, and Austria. But in 1702 he was recalled as his Whig friends lost office on the accession of Queen Anne. He returned through Holland.

30 **provost** The name given to the Principal of Magdalen College. The Heads of Colleges enjoy different names, *e.g.*, the head of St. John's is called the President, the head of Trinity College (Cambridge) the Master, etc.

32 Demy. A name given to scholars at Magdalen. (From *demi*, French for 'half') A demy gets half a fellow's salary.

Page 3 2 "Musæ Anglicanæ". "English Poetry". Volume II (1699) contained these poems

4 the Peace The Peace of Ryswick ended a most arduous war with France, the conclusion of which was greeted with great rejoicing. By the peace of Ryswick (1697), the French were compelled to acknowledge William III.'s title to the English crown, *i.e.*, to renounce their policy of helping James II, and to give up all their conquests since 1678

5. Boileau The great French poet who was universally looked upon as the founder of the Augustan School of poetry. He was the 'poetical father' of Pope and the Classical poets. He professed to derive the canons of his art from Horace, and the poets of the eighteenth century accepted them without demur. He was regarded in the XVIIIth century very much as we regard Shakespeare or Goethe to-day

In the great reaction against 'correct poetry' in the early XIXth century, Boileau received his share of abuse. cf. Keats ("Sleep and Poetry")

They went about
Holding a poor, decrepit standard out,
Marked with most flimsy mottoes and in large
The name of one *Boileau*

His most famous work was *Le Lutrin* (The Reading Desk), a poem in the style of Horace's "Art of Poetry," freely used by Pope in his "Essay on Criticism." Addison saw the great man in Paris in 1700. He died eleven years after, at the age of seventy-five.

6 Thomas Tickell One of Addison's most faithful admirers. This is perhaps why Addison always praises his work so highly. Tickell is only known to us as Addison's literary executor. His notes to the collected works, coming as they do from an intimate friend, are most valuable. He wrote a few papers to the "Spectator", and it was his translation of Book I of the *Iliad* which roused Pope's jealousy and led to the famous quarrel. Tickell was a fellow of Addison's old college, and died in 1740.

13. Battle of the Pigmies. "A beautiful and fanciful poem, still read by lovers of that sort of exercise" *Thackeray*. Mock-heroic poems were very common. cf. *The Rape of the Lock*. A line in this poem may have suggested a touch in "Gulliver's travels"

20 John Dryden (1631-1700) was one of the greatest figures in the early Augustan age. As a poet he, with Waller, was responsible for introducing and popularizing the heroic couplet, and his famous *Absalom and Achitophel* is a masterpiece of political satire. Dryden was also a lyric poet of no mean order; the *Ode for Saint Cecilia's Day*, and *Alexander's Feast* are fine and beautiful pieces of work. Dryden's verse always has about

it a fresh and vigorous tone, it has not all the vitality in it killed out by the passion for smoothness and correctness of the later Augustans. To his contemporaries, Dryden was best known as a dramatist, critics of modern days praise him principally for his prose introductions to the drama, written in a clear forcible style, then new to English prose. Dryden was a great *translator*,—Chaucer modernized, Juvenal, Vergil, are proofs of his industry in this direction.

25 the *Georgicks* are four poems by Vergil (the great Roman poet of the reign of the Emperor Augustus,) on *farming*. The fourth of these treats of *bees*, and hence the point of Dryden's joke. He means to say, "My last translations are hardly worth publishing." Bees at certain seasons form clusters or swarms round the *queen-bee*, the bee-keeper then catches them in his *hive*.

29 Sacheverell Dr Sacheverell, afterwards notorious for his famous sermons on Passive Obedience, which were burnt by the public hangman, but which nevertheless did the Whigs infinite damage.

32 queen Mary Wife of William III, and daughter of James II. She died in 1694.

37 Spenser Edmund Spenser, author of the "*Faerie Queene*" (1552—1598). We should not think Addison's remarks particularly "discriminating", but to the XVIIIth century critic all poetry previous to Dryden and Waller was "barbarous," in form at any rate. This is what the youthful critic has the impertinence to say—

"Old spenser next, warmed with poetic rage,
In ancient tales amused a barbarous age,

But now the mystic tale that pleased of yore
Can charm an *understanding age* no more "

39 Congreve The popular Restoration dramatist, his best known tragedy is "*The Mourning Bride*" (1697).

Page 4 1 Montague Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1694, the first great English financier. He was the originator of the National Debt and the Bank of England. He is best known as Lord Halifax. He died in 1715. His claims to the title of poet are very slender, he collaborated with Matthew Prior in the fable of the "*City Mouse and Country Mouse*"

3 Cowley (1618-1667) A well known lyric poet and essayist of the Restoration period.

6 holy orders The profession of priest in the Church of England. Montague's argument was that men became priests because it was a *lucrative profession*. This was only too true of the Augustan age, Swift is an eminent and pathetic example. The Whigs were looked upon as the enemies of the church because they were tolerant to dissenters, the Tories, ever since the days of

Charles I, were the "church-party" But in the XVIIIth century both parties alike considered religion as subordinate to politics, and bishoprics and other high appointments were freely used as party-rewards or bribes "Addison, always "a priest at heart," would have made a better clergyman than most of his contemporaries

19 Smith "Rag" Smith, a famous litterateur and haunter of taverns in Addison's day, now quite forgotten The praise is absurdly exaggerated The "Æneid," Vergil's great epic on the adventures of Æneas (the Trojan prince who was the ancestor of the Roman race) is the most splendid poem in the Latin language.

24 Blois A little town in Normandy Addison chose it because of the purity of the French spoken there

33 Halifax Montague was made Earl of Halifax in 1699

36. Swift. (1667—1745) A great Tory writer, and Addison's persistent political opponent He hailed the death of the "Spectator" with joy, because it "had grown cruel, dull and dry" At first Addison, Swift, and Steele had been good friends, it was Swift who had originated the famous "Bickerstaff" joke, perpetuated in the "Tatler" In spite of the rupture, Addison very characteristically kept up friendly relations with him when stationed in Ireland Swift's best known work is his famous satire on society entitled "Gulliver's Travels" (1726) He was a priest though, to modern ears, his coarse language seems very unpriestly His long services to the Tories failed to bring him a bishopric, this, and the tragedy of Stella, embittered his life

37 travelling Squire This is inaccurate He was asked on one occasion to act as tutor to Lord Hertford Swift's verses,

"Forgot at home, became for hire
A travelling tutor to a squire,"

are a libel

38 Travels A very commonplace work Addison, like his contemporaries, was a true townsman and the beauties of nature did not appeal to him

Lord Somers Addison dedicated the "Spectator" to this great Whig statesman and lawyer Somers was Attorney-general, Lord Keeper, and finally Lord Chancellor (1697) He is famous for having drafted the Declaration of Right

Page 57 San Marino A minute Italian state, still independent, and occupying a position similar to that of the native states in India Situated on the spurs of the Apennines and only 33 square miles in area, it has "lasted thirteen hundred years, while all the other states of Italy have several times changed their masters and forms of government" (Addison)

THE BEGINNING OF ADDISON'S CAREER
1704—1710 Addison returned under a cloud. His old, friends were out of office, and he appeared to be forgotten. The turning point came when he was asked by Godolphin to write a poem in honour of the great victory of Blenheim. This resulted in the "CAMPAIGN". His political career now began. He succeeded Locke as Commissioner of Appeals, 1704, went to Hanover as Secretary to Halifax, 1705, Under-Secretary of State, 1706; goes to Ireland as Lord Wharton's secretary, 1709; Record-Keeper, Dublin, M. P. 1709. Defeat of the party and return of Addison 1710

19 Blenheim The first of Marlborough's brilliant victories over the French. The avowed object of this cruel and obstinate war was to check the designs of France on the throne of Spain, the real object was the satisfaction of Marlborough's personal ambition.

20 Godolphin An able financier and Tory politician. He was Marlborough's son-in-law, and at that time Lord High Treasurer. He died in 1712.

30 Boyle Chancellor of the Exchequer

33 Locke The famous philosopher. Author of the "Essay on the Human Understanding" (1687). He had just died, and hence the post (purely honorary) was vacant.

32 simile of the Angel

So when an Angel, by Divine Command,
 With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
 Such as of late o'r pale Brittania past,
 Calm and serene, he drives the furious blast,
 And, pleased the Almighty's orders to perform,
 Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.

35 Hanover The diplomatic mission had been sent to bestow the Order of the Garter on the Elector, afterwards George I.

37 Sir Charles Hedges Secretary of State, 1700-1706

Sunderland A strong Whig, and hence disliked by his Tory colleagues in the ministry. He owed his place to the influence of Godolphin and Marlborough (He had married another daughter of the Duke). He succeeded Sir Charles Hedges as Secretary of State, Addison of course retaining his post of under-secretary.

38 prevalent taste Handel's first opera was performed in England in 1711.

40 opera A dramatic performance where the words are sung, not spoken.

Page 63 duchess of Marlborough A famous character in her day. She ruled Queen Anne entirely, and was the Duke's right

hand till her supersession by Mrs Abigail Hill, in 1708 Pope gives us a lurid picture of her as Atossa. ("Moral Essays", II.)

flattery, in an introduction or preface, was quite the usual thing in the eighteenth century Johnson's independence makes him take rather a harsh view of Addison's conduct

Rosamund The opera dealt with the story of the "Fair Rosamund," Henry II's mistress. She was kept hidden from his jealous queen Eleanor in a "tower" at Woodstock, but was tracked out by means of a silken clue and killed Woodstock, the scene of the drama, had just been presented to the Duke of Marlborough by the nation, and in the last act two angels appear and comfort the disconsolate monarch with visions of the future glories of the place and its holders

6 Joshua Barnes An eccentric professor of Greek in the days of Addison He published an edition of Anacreon, the great Greek lyric and erotic poet, in 1705

7 The Tender Husband This comedy of Steele's was staged in 1703, with a prologue by Addison It is an exaggeration to say it owes "many of the most successful scenes" to Addison: Steele says "many applauded strokes" only. Long after, Steele wrote, "I remember when I finished the *Tender Husband*, I told him there was nothing I so ardently wished as that we might sometime publish a work written by us both, which should bear the name of the *Monument*, in memory of our friendship"

11 Wharton A profligate scoundrel, but a thoroughgoing Whig, and a consistent friend to his party. Hence even men like Burnet overlooked his faults Besides, it is hard to blame Addison for taking office under a man simply because he was known to be a bad character. His equally notorious son, after many vicissitudes, took orders and died as a Capuchin Friar in a Spanish monastery, 1731 Vide Pope's "Moral Essays", I 179, and III 84 Wharton Hall, the former home of this brilliant but unhappy family, is on the Eden near Kirkby Stephen In 1731 it passed to the Lowthers

13 Birmingham's Tower, in Dublin Castle. The office was a sinecure, of course

ADDISON AS AN AUTHOR. So far Addison had been too busy for much literary work; since the "Campaign" (1704) he had only written a prologue for Steele, and the unsuccessful opera "Rosamund", 1707. Now, however, (1710) his party had lost power, and he was out of office. Already (1709) he had detected Steele's hand in the "Tatler", and had contributed some papers to it. He now collaborated

with him to produce the famous "SPECTATOR". The object of this famous paper was to amuse and at the same time instruct; to deal with social matters and avoid politics, to teach manners, and to correct vice by laughing at it rather than rebuking it. It had predecessors in Italian and French manuals of polite society and in English newspapers, but far surpassed them all. Addison's favourite character was the pious and simple Sir Roger de Coverley, whom the author delineated with consummate skill. The sale was not, however, large, and the paper ceased at the end of 1712.

Page 7 34 Dr Fleetwood, Bishop of St Asaph, who did yeoman service for the Whigs, as Swift and Dr Sacheverell did for the Tories.

Page 8 1 Casa Bishop of Benevento in Italy. He published his "Galatea," a book on social intercourse, in 1556. Its style is praised by Hallam and other critics. The first English translation was by Peterson, 1576.

Castiglione "The Courtier" was published in 1528, and is said to be a polished, but trivial and diffuse, book. Johnson, however, admired it greatly. It was first translated into English by Hoby, 1561.

10 La Bruyere The famous French writer (1645—96). His "Characters," a well-known work, was published in 1688.

20 Arbiter elegantiarum "Judge of proprieties"

29 Civil War Between Charles I and his parliament, ending in the capture and execution (or *murder*, as the Tories said,) of the king in 1649.

31 "Mercurius Aulicus" The "Court Mercury", "Country Mercury", "City Mercury". The first named was issued at Oxford during the Civil War. The "City Mercury" was apparently much later in reality, and was printed by L'Estrange, author of the "Observer" and other papers. Lesley was a very insignificant journalist. Johnson's account of the predecessors of the "Tatler" is very poor, he fails to mention Defoe's wonderful "Review" (1704) with its Scandal Club, which really *did* anticipate Steele and Addison.

Page 9 4 the Royal Society Founded for the "Promotion of Natural knowledge" in 1660. Pepys and Evelyn, the diary-writers, were members and Charles II took an active interest in it.

14 decency In Johnson's day this word merely signified "propriety," "suitability," now-a-days its meaning is more restricted.

23 Budgell A cousin of Addison and an occasional contributor to the "Spectator". He lost all his money in the South Sea

Bubble, and committed suicide (1737) leaving a note containing the lines,

" What Cato did, and Addison approv'd,
Cannot be wrong "

He translated "Theophrastus" (a Greek philosopher, pupil of Aristotle and author of a work called the "Characters," containing sketches of the most conspicuous types of character in his day) and published it in 1713

34. *allegories* One of the most beautiful of these is the Vision of Mirza ("Spectator", No 159) which is reprinted in Lobban's Essays, p. 72 "Elegant fictions" refers to the story of the Club and Sir Roger's adventures, etc

37 *Sir Roger* For a full account of the Spectator and his friends, see the Introduction

Page 10 5 para mi sola "For me alone was born Don Quixote, and I for him " However, the "death of Sir Roger" took place four months after Steele's supposed offence The truth probably is, that Addison was already contemplating to bring the "Spectator" to a close, and he did not wish to leave his great creation to be "caught up the moment he quitted it

Cervantes (1547-1616) The author of the famous Spanish novel *Don Quixote*. The hero of this story resembles Sir Roger in his benevolence, his desire to right the wrong, and the fact that he is a generation behind his age From his eccentric passion for righting imaginary wrongs we get the term *Quixotic*, applied to people who undertake any noble, but thankless and profitless, errand

21 the landed interest, a name given to the Tories because their wealth consisted of *land*, and because they were the great landowners, the Whigs, on the other hand, are called *the moneyed interest*, because they consisted of the merchants and trading-classes.

30. *hospital* An almshouse, where deserving people, too old to work, receive free quarters The Charterhouse, is an institution of this kind, Chelsea Hospital (for soldiers), and Greenwich Hospital (for sailors) are good examples Almost every village in England has its almshouses

34 *commodiously distributed*, *z e*, published and sent round at a convenient hour The "Spectator" was timed to arrive just before breakfast, in pursuance of the plan of its authors, to provide "a topic for breakfast tables" On one famous occasion the publication was delayed till twelve o'clock, Queen Anne's breakfast-time The object of this clever *ruse* was this Dr Fleetwood had written a book of very Whiggish sermons, which had been condemned by Parliament Steele reprinted the preface with a commendation, in the "Spectator" As this arrived at the palace very late, it was hoped it would be sent straight to the Queen before her advisers could look through the paper, detect its obnoxious

character, and intercept it Thus the Queen herself would read it, as well as "some fourteen thousand people who would otherwise have never heard of it" How far this little plot succeeded, and with what effect upon the mind of Her Majesty, history does not relate

Page 11 I Swift The "Spectator" had grown "cruel, dull and dry," according to Swift

3. the fair sex The chief novelty in the "Spectator" was that it catered to *women* Many of the most delightful letters are from imaginary lady-correspondents, or are directed against their fashions and foibles See *e g*, "Fans," No 102 (Lobban, p 64)

ADDISON AS A DRAMATIST [CATO, 1713] "CATO" was the turning point of Addison's career It had been written for sometime, but with characteristic diffidence the author refused to finish or stage the play till persuaded to do so by his friends who thought it would help the Whig cause Its success was amazing, both Whigs and Tories reading into it the interpretations they wished The only dissentient voice was that of Dennis, but Addison refused to reply to him The play is certainly weak in its love scenes It was translated into Italian and Latin and imitated in French

6 climaterick Climax, crisis or turning point An astrological term, applied to certain "critical years" upon which the whole of a man's career was supposed to turn

10 Cibber Colley Cibber, actor and dramatist (1671—1757), is chiefly known to posterity as the hero of the "Dunciad" He was one of the patentees of Drury Lane, and "Cato" was produced under his management His version of Richard III at one time quite eclipsed Shakespeare's play, and he was created poet laureate on the death of Eusden (1730) Colley Cibber acted the part of Syphax, the Numidian general, in "Cato"

11 despicable cant of literary modesty Merely an emphatic way of saying, "The false modesty usually found in authors" Johnson is very severe on all forms of false modesty

15 affected Notice Johnson's scorn of the Whig idea that the Tories could possibly "endanger the liberty of the country"

17 importuned Persistently begged Notice the sarcasm

18 tutelary deities The spirits supposed to preside over, and guard, the destinies of the country

22 Hughes A friend of Addison's He wrote a few papers to the "Spectator", and some verses of his were prefixed to "Cato."

26 a brevity irregularly disproportionate A Johnsonian way of saying, "So short that they seemed to harmonize very badly with the rest of the play"

30 Dennis (1657—1734) A critic of real merit, but a man of violent temper and extreme jealousy Hence his criticisms, always acute, are often warped by personal spite This is excellently illustrated by his remarks on "Cato" Dennis was wildly jealous of the enthusiasm with which it was received, as his own play, on a Roman theme, "Appius and Virginia," had fallen flat four years previously His quarrel with Pope is most comic Dennis hated the new school, and the jealousy may be as old as Pope's "Pastorals" At any rate Pope, with reference to the play, put the following lines into the "Essay on Criticism"—

"But Appius reddens at each word you speak
And stares tremendous, with a threat'ning eye
Like some old tyrant in a tapestry"

Pope was at this time twenty three and Dennis fifty four¹ Dennis retorted with a ferocious "Reflections on an Essay on Criticism" in which he dubs Pope as "a stupid, impotent little hunch-backed toad, that surprise people sleeping that it may fasten its teeth and its claws upon them" To talk about a toad's "teeth and claws" is a mixture of metaphors which would have delighted Dennis if he had detected them in Addison or Pope The remark is, however, only too true, Pope was spiteful and dangerous to a degree Addison wisely and nobly apologized, when Pope officiously tried to draw him into the fight He had no need of champions of Pope's calibre

33 the established rule of poetical justice Viz, that virtue must finally triumph over vice This was one of the "classical conventions" imposed by the Augustan critics It is of course an absurd one, though it is as old as Bacon ("Advancement of Learning," II, Ch IV, § 2). It is violated not only by Shakespeare (e.g., "King Lear", "Othello", etc) but by the Greek dramatists themselves Addison was quite justified in violating it and in preparing his audience for the innovation Johnson's remarks about his "motives" are quite uncalled for.

39 arise Addison in his excessive timidity thought this might be construed into meaning, "Rise in rebellion!"

40 erect and exalt yourselves Bestir yourselves

Page 12 2 liquidated Softened, toned down

3 heavily, etc A quotation from "Cato".

"And heavily in clouds brings on the day,
The great, the important day"

Act I Scene I

5. hazard. Risk. A metaphor from gambling

6 pack an audience, i e, to fill it with hirelings, judiciously distributed, who would applaud at the right places, and thus prevent the play 'falling flat,' and ensure it a good reception.

8 "Distrest Mother" An adaptation of Racine's "Andromaque," by Ambrose Philips, staged the year before "Cato" Philips, nicknamed Namby Pamby by Pope, "because he excelled in the infantile style," was a friend of Addison's "The Distrest mother" was bad enough to require a good deal of help So, besides a most glaring "puff" in the "Spectator", an audience was "bought" to help it on

14 Bolingbroke Henry St John, one of the great Tory wits of the reign of Anne, "the Alcibiades of his time" He was a firm friend and patron of Pope, and was responsible for the "Essay on Man," which reflects, not very correctly or consistently, his philosophic position His most famous work is his "Idea of a Patriot King" He fled from England on the accession of George I, but returned with a pardon in 1723 His influence on his contemporaries was immense,—Pope and Voltaire both acknowledged it Johnson, however, denounces him as "a scoundrel and a coward" for his religious views, and Macaulay calls him a "brilliant knave" He died in 1751.

Booth A famous actor in his day He took the part of Cato in this play, amongst other parts, he is known to have taken, was that of Pyrrhus in the "Distrest Mother" He was a pupil of Betterton, and a joint owner (with Colley Cibber) of Drury Lane He died in 1733

16 perpetual Dictator Cæsar was the perpetual dictator against whom Cato fought The remark was of course an allusion to the ambitions of Marlborough who had striven to be appointed Captain-General for life in 1710

17 as good a sentence Such an apt retort

20 Mrs Porter, acted the part of the beautiful Lucia, beloved by the sons of Cato

22 solicitude Anxiety

37 Corneille's "Cid" Corneille was, like his contemporary Racine, a great tragedian The "Cid," a play dealing with the Spanish hero of that name, was published in 1636 It was an epoch-making play, but, as the author had offended Richelieu, that powerful minister influenced the critics, and the drama was only faintly praised by the Academy and condemned by Scuderi However, the censor, powerful as he was, was unable to stop the great merits of the play from being recognized for long

animadversion Rebuke, criticism

Page 13 2 the Madness of John Dennis, a silly and scurrilous pamphlet Addison was quite right to disclaim all knowledge of it The following is an extract from Addison's very dignified letter:—

"When Mr Addison thinks fit to take notice of Mr Dennis's objections to his writings, he will do so in a way Mr Dennis shall have no just reason to complain of But when the papers above mentioned were offered to be communicated to him, he said he could not, in honour or conscience, be privy to such a treatment and was sorry to hear of it." It abused Dennis, but did not attempt to refute him Hence it led readers to think that Dennis's arguments were unanswerable

16 extrinsic and adventitious Outside the main plot of the play, and unnaturally brought into it Irrelevant

17. first draught Original copy

18 Wits Men of culture The literary circles of the day, to be met with in the coffee-houses

pay their attendance Pay their respects, do homage to

19 encomiastic Bestowing Praise, laudatory.

21. Jeffreys An inferior scribbler of the day Other verses were by Steele, Tickell, Phillips and Eusden (the poet laureate).

23 A Scholar of Oxford This pamphlet accused Addison of plagiarising, and also of being a Tory in disguise

24. Salvini Professor of Greek at Florence. He translated the "Letter from Italy" into Italian (1654—1751)

25 the Jesuits A famous order of Roman priests, the real name is the Order of the Society of Jesus They had a great training-college, or seminary, at St Omer's The order was founded by a Spanish nobleman, Ignatius de Loyala, in 1534

28 Bland Dr Bland, afterwards Provost of Eton. His rendering is in No 628 of the "Spectator"

29 Des Champs Author of "Cato of Utica", 1715

33 policy of literature The wisest course in literary matters

35 irrefragable Unanswerable

ADDISON'S LATER WORK Addison gave great assistance to Steele's "GUARDIAN," 1713, but Steele was unable to keep off party-politics, which led to its downfall Addison's contributions were anonymous, but whether from motives of magnanimity or jealousy is unknown. He is said to have been the author of an unsuccessful comedy "The Drummer," about this time Besides this, there are a few political pamphlets written at various times. In 1714 the

"SPECTATOR" was revived, and this second issue contained the important Essays on MILTON. In 1714 he was, on the death of Queen Anne, made Secretary to the Regency, but was not very successful in the discharge of his duties. In 1715 he published the "FREEHOLDER," which was more of a partizan paper than the "Spectator", and hence inferior to it. In 1716 he married the Countess of Warwick, and in the following year became Secretary of State, but did not acquit himself well in this high position. He died in 1719 with true Christian fortitude. His last years were embittered by a dispute with his old friend Steele over the Peerage Bill, unfortunately they were never reconciled.

37 The "Guardian" Ran from March 12th to October 1st, 1713. Addison wrote 51 papers out of 175. The paper is called the "Guardian" because the writer is supposed to be Mr. Nestor Ironside, the guardian to a family of the name of Lizard. But, unlike the Spectator, the main character is soon lost sight of. The "club of tall men" is a burlesque paper (No. 108), the "club of little men" is described in No. 91. Other papers are devoted to Ants, and to the imitations of the old Roman poets by Strada, an Italian.

Page 14 12 the "Englishman" was begun on October 6th, five days after the "Guardian."

16 Steele insinuates Johnson, always hard upon Addison for his supposed meanness, here misjudges Steele. Steele takes the responsibility of marking the Essays upon himself. Johnson's words, "he could not without discontent impart to others any of his own praise," remind us of Pope's accusation.

"Should such a man, too fond to rule alone
Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne."

19 air of renown Mere fame, with no substantial profit

22 discrimination of characters Accurate delineation of different types of people

23 natural or accidental deviations Slight defects of character or mistakes in social matters worthy of comment or ridicule

25 the "Drummer" Apparently Addison did not wish it to be known that he was the author of this comedy, because he was not sure of its reception. He gave Steele a pretty strong hint as to its source by saying it was the work of "a gentleman then in the room," (not "a gentleman then in the company," as Johnson erroneously says) and by pressing it upon him with a great warmth. The play was a failure. It ran for three nights only (March 10th—12th, 1716). Johnson seems to think this was due to the "capricious distribution of theatrical praise," (i.e., "the uncertainty which a good play has of a good reception, owing to the capriciousness of audiences") implying, apparently, that it was not a bad production and worthy of a better fate.

Page 15 2 "The present State of the War" Written in 1707, when Marlborough's Tory colleagues were becoming tired of him, and were trying to bring the war to a close as the surest means of checking his power Addison's pamphlet supports the war and urges an increase of the army

7 The "Whig Examiner" This paper (published in 1710) only ran for five numbers It was meant as a check to the Tory "Examiner" and succeeded admirably

17 Trial of Count Tariff A political allegory written against the commercial treaty of Utrecht (1713) The Whigs, under Nottingham, opposed it strenuously, but the votes of the new Tory majority carried the day for the court

19 to revive the "Spectator" The revised "Spectator" ran from June 18th to December 20th, 1714 Eighty papers were issued, of which Tickell says twenty-four were by Addison, not twenty-three, as Johnson asserts Johnson has apparently looked over paper, No 560 The greater seriousness of tone in these papers is noticed by Johnson The most remarkable are his "Criticisms on Milton," a series of eighteen essays (Of Addison as a critic we shall speak later) That Addison had not forgotten his earlier style of humour is proved by such papers as "Guardian", No 116, "On naked bosoms," quite after the manner of the first "Spectator"

21 succession of a new family . filled the nation with discord This was owing to the evident signs of Queen Anne's failing health By the Act of settlement (1701) it had been arranged that if the Queen died without heirs, the throne should pass to Sophia, Electress of Hanover, James I's nearest Protestant descendant But it was well known that Bolingbroke would try and restore the Pretender, and this would probably mean a struggle.

38 the Letters Letters from (real) correspondents By a judicious use of these, a good deal of space would be filled up, and less would be left for Steele to write

Page 16 6 the regency The schemes of Bolingbroke were cleverly checkmated On July 27th 1714, he had secured himself by dismissing Harley, a moderate and loyal Tory Shrewsbury, however, acting with the support of Argyll and Somerset, persuaded the Queen to nominate him as Lord Treasurer in Harley's place, and to write a sealed list of eighteen Whig Lords who were to act as regents in the event of her death This took place on August 1st The list was opened, Bolingbroke found himself utterly unsupported, and George I was at once proclaimed by the "Lords Justices," as the Council of Regency was called

14. too hard for Addison There is, apparently, no foundation for this "idle tradition", as Macaulay calls it We cannot help thinking that it was a Tory libel, and Johnson is very much to blame for repeating it without proper authority The probable truth of the whole matter is that a merely formal letter (to be delivered by the

Earl of Dorset) was left to the clerk, as Addison would be busy with a hundred more delicate matters at such a crisis. Addison's experience in Ireland, and his work under the previous Whig government, must have taught him something of business correspondence, and it is not likely that on the dissolution of the Regency, Sunderland should have engaged him as his secretary, after such a singular display of incompetence

15 the "Freeholder" December 23rd 1715—June 9th 1716; (fifty-five papers) "Among his political works, the Freeholder is entitled to the first place Even in the 'Spectator' there are few serious papers nobler than the character of his friend Lord Somers, and certainly no satirical papers superior to those in which the Tory Foxhunter is introduced This character is the original of Squire Western, (a bluff but kindly old Tory Squire in Fielding's novel 'Tom Jones') and is drawn with all Fielding's force, and with a delicacy of which Fielding was altogether destitute As none of Addison's works exhibit stronger marks of his genius than the 'Freeholder', so none does more honour to his moral character It is difficult to extol too highly the candour and humanity of a political writer whom even the excitement of civil war cannot hurry into unseemly violence"—*Macaulay*

20 Bigotry Even the most bigoted, or prejudiced, persons

the Tory Fox-hunter The student should read "Freeholder", No 22 (Lobban's Essays, p 90) The Tory Foxhunter is not so winning a character as Sir Roger He is more violent in his prejudices, and more bluff altogether, but he is evidently drawn from the life

22 the "Pretender's Journal" There is nothing very offensive, really, in this journal, except a jocular remark that in "this year, he ordered the Lord High Treasurer to pay off the debts of the Crown *particularly a milk score of three years' standing*" This was a very mild satire for the 18th century, but Johnson, as a Tory, finds it offensive

This "Journal" was, to give it its full title, "The History of the Pretender's fourteen years' reign digested into annals", and was of course intended to ridicule the exiled prince

Pretender "Claimant," to the English throne His full name was James Edward Stuart He was the son of the exiled King James II, banished in 1688 James II died in 1701 and Louis XIV had been trying ever since to restore him to the throne

29 Milton In some Latin Verses, called "Against the use of the word 'Hundred' by Salmasus," occur the lines here quoted They mean

"A hundred gold pieces, the very last
Left in the purse of the exiled king"

Oldmixon Poetaster and historian, a mean and prejudiced Whig. (1675—1725)

Milton's savageness Milton wrote some very violent prose pamphlets and satirical verses, defending the action of the English people against the French scholar Claude de Saumaise (Salmasius) who had written a treatise called "A Royal Defence on behalf of Charles I" (1649.)

35. countess of Warwick "Addison and Lady Warwick were country neighbours, and became intimate friends" She died in 1731 leaving a daughter. The tales of their married unhappiness are probably largely due to the malicious exaggerations of Pope and other detractors

37 his disdainful widow. Sir Roger is portrayed as being in love with a "perverse, beautiful" widow who refuses to marry him, and to whom the good knight constantly refers in a humorous fashion.

40 Tonson Jacob Tonson, the publisher. He was known to dislike what he considered Addison's 'sanctimonious' ways

Page 17. 13. Rowe (1647—1718) A once-popular playwright and versifier, well-known in Whig circles and a friend of Addison. He was made Poet-laureate on the accession of George I. His best play was *Jane Shore* (1714). On Addison's departure for Ireland in 1714 he had 'consolated' Lady Warwick in a set of verses addressed to "*The Chloe of Holland House*" (Lady Warwick's residence). The "*Despairing Shepherd*" contains the following verses, supposed to refer particularly to the disdainful attitude of the Countess to her second husband.

How foolish I was to believe
She could dote on so lowly a clown;
Or that her fond heart would not grieve
To forsake the fine folk of the town,
To think that a beauty so gay
So kind or so constant would prove,
Or go clad like our maidens in gray,
Or live in a cottage on love.

What though I have skill to complain,
Though the Muses my temples have crowned?
What though, when they hear my soft strain
The virgins sit weeping around?

and so on

The allusions, if any exist, are of the vaguest kind "Colin" goes on to say

My false one inclines to a swain
Whose music is sweeter than mine

One cannot help thinking that this rather militates against any idea of a reference to the Countess in the poem!

18 secretary of state. The Secretaries of State are among the most important members of the Ministry. The name arose in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the secretaryship of the Council

became a distinguished office In the reign of Anne there were two secretaries, and a third was added for Scotland in 1708 There are now five, for Home, Foreign, Colonial, Military, and Indian affairs Addison held this office for nearly a year, (April 16th, 1717—March 14th, 1718) with, apparently, indifferent success, retiring on a pension of £1,600 a year,—not £1,500 as Johnson states

33 **Socrates** The famous Greek philosopher who was put to death by the Athenians for supposed heresy in 399 B C He might have escaped but refused to do so The story is pathetically told in the dialogues of his pupil Plato The *Phaedo* describes the final scene. Tickell is wrong Plato's handling shews that the story would dramatize very successfully.

37 "**Christian Religion**" Published posthumously in 1721 "A superficial tract on the Christian Religion which owes its credit to its name, its style, and the interested applause of our clergy." (Gibbon)

39 **poetical version of the Psalms** Versions by Tate and Brady, Milton and others already existed Modern taste prefers the prose translation in the Authorized Version of the Bible Five or six, as Pope says, were already translated and published in the "Spectator" A good example is to be found in his beautiful translation of Psalm XXIII (his favourite psalm) in "Spectator", No 441, beginning

"The Lord my pasture shall prepare
And feed me with a shepherd's care"

Page 18 2 **take orders** Become a priest

obtain a bishoprick These high (and lucrative) church posts were given mostly as rewards for party services than for piety Hence the great degradation of religion in England in the eighteenth century.

12 **Tillotson** Archbishop of Canterbury, 1691 "He was not only the best preacher of the age, but he seemed to have brought preaching to perfection His sermons were so well heard and liked, and so much read, that all the nation proposed him a pattern, and studied to copy after him" (Burnet) The wonderful eloquence, and admirable clearness of style of Tillotson make him very important in the history of the development of prose Dryden confessed that he owed all his facility to him Addison would doubtless have a similarly high opinion of him A loyal Whig (he replaces Sancroft, the non-Juror,) he was admired by all parties

21 **a controversy** Macaulay says the estrangement was older than this It began by the elevation of Tickell to the position of Undersecretary of State Steele was deeply mortified at being passed over.

23 **in the language of Homer** The poet Homer often begins a new episode with an oratorical question of this kind

25 **Sunderland** A follower of Lord Somers, Secretary of State, 1706—1710. He was one of the great Whig leaders, and took a prominent part in politics till forced to resign in 1720, (the year after the Peerage bill,) owing to the revelations following upon the South Sea Company scandal. He was strongly suspected of having taken a huge bribe (£50,000) to promote the Company's interests and was only acquitted by a small party majority.

26 **the Peerage Bill.** When the government finds itself outvoted in the House of Lords, the last resource is to create a sufficient number of fresh peers to secure a majority. In 1711 Harley had created twelve, so as to outnumber the Whig Lords who opposed him. Sunderland's bill was designed to prevent this by limiting the number of new peerages (over and above the number already sitting in the Lords, viz., one hundred and seventy-eight) to six. Extinct peerages were to be filled up, and new peerages to be confined to heirs male. George I was quite indifferent to this loss of Royal Prerogative, but the Commons saw that the blow aimed at their privileges was very serious and under Walpole steadily opposed it.

35 **Sir Robert Walpole** The greatest Whig Minister of the century. He held office from 1721—1742, and concentrated all his powers upon improving English trade and avoiding war. He was a firm supporter of the rights of the house of Commons and the Protestant succession. He finally lost office owing to the war with Spain arising out of the "Jenkin's Ear" incident, and went to the Lords under the title of Lord Orford. His great opponent in the Commons was Pulteney, and his bitterest enemy, Bolingbroke, who attacked him in the "Craftsman." He died in 1745.

38 **twelve new peers at once** See above. When they appeared, Lord Wharton, treating them like a pack of jurymen, jestingly asked "whether they voted singly or by their foreman?"

Page 19. 1 contempt of national right . . . by instigation of Whiggism. This is nonsensical, but the speaks as a Tory, to whom Whiggism is the depth of b Johnson truth is as follows. By the bill of 1694 parliament dissolves every three years. But in 1717, just after the Jacobite rebellion, an election was not only dangerous but impossible. The rebellion, an election party feeling in the country. So the rebellion, an election prolonging its own duration to save. owing to the intense temporary measure, but has no Parliament passed an act too short a time for any party years; this was meant as a its policy. ever been repealed, as three years is to have a fair chance of carrying out

6 **earl of Oxford**
1711. **Speak**—**ord.** Robert Harley, created Earl of Oxford in 1704. Harley was of the Commons in 1701, Secretary of State 1704 so was a moderate Tory, but opposed Marlborough's policy and dismissed from office in 1709. On the fall of Marlborough, he resumed his position and became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1710, and Earl of Oxford in the following year. He was ousted by the intrigues of Bolingbroke in 1714, and on the accession of

George I was accused with his more guilty rival, of plotting for the return of the Pretender, but after two years in the Tower he was released. He was a great patron of literature and a friend of Steele and other authors.

9 subversion of the ancient establishment. An overthrow of the principles of the constitution.

11 "The Plebeian" Four numbers were issued, between March 14th and April 6th 1719, the paper appearing once a week.

12 "The Old Whig" Appeared twice only, viz, March 19th and April 2nd. Johnson is here quite right in condemning Addison, but wrong in supposing Addison meant to refer to Steele as "*little Dickey*." Addison was never *rude* or personal, but his contemptuous tone in speaking of Steele is past all bearing. He had always treated Steele rather slightly, but in the second paper of the "Old Whig" he goes to excessive lengths. It begins as follows: "The author of the 'Plebeian', to shew himself a perfect master in the vocation of pamphlet-writing, begins, *like a son of Grub Street*, with declaring the great esteem he has for himself and the contempt he entertains for the scribblers of the age." 'Grub Street' was the resort of all the dissolute scribblers and fifth rate authors, and the expression is most insulting and a cruel sneer at the literary claims of his old friend and comrade-in-arms. Besides, the quarrel had not begun here. Steele had not forgotten the old slight of Tickell's preferment (see above).

20 contempt of little Dicky. This is quite unfounded, but was repeated by Johnson and all the biographers down to Macaulay. The passage in the "Old Whig" runs as follows — "Who forbears laughing when the *Spanish Friar* represents *Little Dicky* insulting the colonel, that was able to fright him out of his wits with a single frown?"

Little Dicky was the nickname of *Henry Norris*, the actor who played Gomez in the "Spanish Friar," a popular play of Dryden's. It does not refer to Steele at all, such gross personal allusions were Addison's line. But Steele was hurt, (and rightly hurt) at the insolent and overbearing tone of Addison's retorts. Johnson went straight from the *Biographia Britannica* [originally published 1747, re-edited by Dr. Kippis 1778]. He tells us that he was unable to obtain a copy of the "Old Whig" and made a mistake, but says that "Steele threw an insult at the morals of the chiefs of the administration for this statement. Macaulay is wrong in saying that Steele was hurt by the allusion, and in this case he is mistaken."

Macaulay corrects the odious imputation upon the "Old Whig" There is no foundation for the statement. Johnson is only able to do so by an actual misrepresentation.

The Bill was thrown

the commitment was rejected

36 Tickell's "Life" Published in 1721. It forms the preface to Addison's collected works

40 Complying with times Yielding to circumstances

Page 20 12 Walking upon ashes

"A work of danger and distrust,
You treat, as one on fire should tread,
Scarce hid by treacherous ashen crust"
Horace, Odes, Bk II I

14 nothing that is false This epigram is apparently from "The Art of Worldly Wisdom" by Balthazar Gracian

21 the earl of Warwick Addison's step-son, now twenty-one "A foolish and vicious lad," says Macaulay Addison had no reason to love him, as (presumably out of resentment at Addison's attentions to his mother,) he made mischief between Addison and Pope Gilden had written a pamphlet attacking Pope, and the Earl of Warwick told Pope that Addison had commissioned him to do so Addison had tried already in vain to reform him

Gay, "the most simple and good-natured of mankind, could not imagine what there was to forgive" He had, however, been a friend of Bolingbroke and the Tories, and it is possible that Addison, when Secretary of State, had for this reason passed him over when he had been proposed for some preferment This may have weighed upon his mind as an unkind act to one so genial and kindly as Gay But apparently Addison was too ill to explain to Gay what the supposed injury was Gay is best known to us as the author of the *Beggar's Opera* This famous satire was suggested by Swift It was a Newgate Pastoral, a pastoral poem wherein instead of nymphs and swains, appeared thieves and highwaymen He also wrote the famous song "Black-eyed Susan" His death in 1732 was bitterly deplored by Pope and Swift

39. Tickell's Elegy Prefixed to his edition of Addison

Page 21 1 Dr Young The author of the celebrated poem *Night Thoughts*, 1742

3 Mr Craggs James Craggs succeeded Addison as Secretary of State, 1718 Addison addressed him a singularly beautiful letter, which Macaulay says it is "difficult to read without tears," commending Tickell to his care Craggs, like half the statesmen of his day, was implicated in the unhappy South Sea scandal, but did not live to see the trial through Pope's lines,

"Statesman yet friend to truth, in soul sincere,
In action faithful and in honour clear,"

shew that he, at any rate, did not believe in Craggs's guilt

4. Holland-house The famous home of the Duchess of Warwick

ADDISON'S CHARACTER AND PRIVATE LIFE,

Addison's high character is testified by the fact that even his political opponents praise him. He remained on good terms with Swift in Ireland, in spite of the latter's violent Toryism. His worst defect was his taciturnity before strangers. He was always unable to speak before an audience or in the presence of strangers. This was a pity, as his friends say that he was a brilliant conversationalist in private. He was very jealous of rivals,—a great weakness. He was not widely read, though he knew Latin and French thoroughly. He was gifted with the greatest ease of expression in writing, though he corrected his works with great care. His day was usually spent as follows. He generally breakfasted with Budgell or Phillips, who lived with him. He worked all the morning, dined at a tavern, and then went to **BUTTON'S COFFEE HOUSE** with Steele, Davenant, Brett and the rest of his circle. One trait of his character was his irony. In spite of his shyness, we can see from his works that he had met a great many different classes of men. His writings shew a keen sense of humour, and best of all, an unfailing and uniform purity of thought and expression. "He employed wit on the side of virtue and religion."

9 election as M P for Cavan in the Irish parliament, 1709 probably.

13 secretary in Ireland 1709—10, under Lord Wharton.

14. Swift Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, and a strong Tory. (See note on p 4, l 36)

16 taciturnity Silent character

21 Chesterfield The remark occurs in his "Letters," written to his son, Phillip Stanhope, full of shrewd, worldly advice, not of a very high order. Chesterfield was a wit, statesman, orator, and man of letters, "a lord among wits, and a wit among lords." He promised to help Johnson, but for seven years kept him waiting, and then wanted to patronize him when he published his Dictionary. Johnson proudly refused such tardy recognition. Johnson disliked him and said his Letters taught "the morals of a whore, and the manners of a dancing master." He died in 1773, aged seventy-nine.

25 he could draw bills, &c, he had vast store of intellectual wealth, and could produce it in writing, but he could not express his thoughts readily in speech at a moment's notice. His powers of conversation were very poor in comparison with his powers of writing.

27. current coin Words ready at hand for use in conversation (Addison was also a bad speaker, and a failure in Parliament.)

30 hyperbolical. Exaggerated.

Page 22 2 Terence The greatest of the Roman comic dramatists (185—159 B C) Catullus An eminent Latin lyric poet (87—54 B C) Addison's knowledge of Latin poetry was very extensive Cf Macaulay "His knowledge of the Latin poets, from Lucretius Matallus down to Claudian and Prudentius was singularly exact and profound It is clear that Addison's serious attention during his residence at the University was almost solely concentrated on Latin poetry "

4 fondness Lit foolishness The natural partiality which causes a man to take a liberal estimate of a friend's capacities

10. He demanded to be the first name So Pope

"Should such a man too fond to rule alone,
Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne "

11 Dryden See note on p 3, l 20 He is always (and justly) looked on as the father of Augustan verse and prose

12. Congreve See note on p 3, l 39 He was a schoolmate of Swift's, and an intimate friend of Pope.

prevalence Increasing strength and diffusion

15. disingenuous acts So Johnson, Pope, and other detractors of Addison His admirers, on the other hand—Macaulay and Thackeray—deny hotly that Addison was capable of such conduct They declare that Pope's jealous mind, warped and diseased like his body, imagined the whole wretched business, and that the terrible passage in the epistle to Dr Arbuthnot is a horrible calumny from beginning to end The quarrel between Addison and Pope was an old one Addison had 'damned with faint praise' his early efforts,—"*Windsor Forest*", "*The Rape of the Lock*", and so on,—he had snubbed him severely for taking up the cudgels so officiously against Dennis, and he had egged on Gildon to insult him in a pamphlet (The last bit of scandal was communicated by Lord Warwick, who hated Addison because he had reproved his vices, and still more, because he had dared to make love to his mother) But all these "disingenuous acts" were, in Pope's mind, capped by one final piece of treachery Pope was bringing out his "*Homer*," and Addison while praising it, also commended a version of the first book of *Iliad* by Tickell Pope declared that *Tickell never wrote it at all*, that Addison himself did it out of jealousy, on purpose to destroy Pope's reputation The story appears to be entirely the product of Pope's diseased and scheming mind He declares Dr Young confirmed his suspicions, but it is impossible to believe a word of what he says After the '*Atticus*' satire, Addison quietly dropped Pope Pope thought this was due to fear!

Johnson rather unjustly takes Pope's part Addison was incapable of "disingenuous" acts, but there is a certain substratum of truth in the charges made by Pope Addison's great weakness, like Cicero's, doubtless was an inordinate love of fame,

16 not the only man This is unjust, because it is a vague charge Gay is the only person who can be referred to, and Gay was unconscious of any wrong.

insidiously. Slyly, in an underhand fashion

22 Dialogues on Medals. "*Dialogues upon the usefulness of ancient Medals, especially in relation to the Latin and Greek poets*" 1702. (Medals=coins) A very one-sided work, as Addison knew very much more about Latin than Greek, and more about Latin verse than prose "In that pleasing work, we find about three hundred passages extracted with great judgment from the Roman poets, but we do not recollect a single passage taken from any Roman orator or historian; and we are confident that not a line is quoted from any Greek writer" *Macaulay*.

24 adventitious Additional Addison had a very vivid imagination and hence wide reading was unnecessary for him, he did not have to *borrow his sentiments from external sources*.

27. affectation Pretended sentiments not genuinely felt The whole sentence may be taken as meaning "Addison had no need of books, he was skilful in reading the book of human character, he understood men thoroughly, from their most deeply-concealed devices to their shallowest pretences"

34 coherence Lit "holding together" Here it signifies logical sequence, and generally, intelligibility of thought

Page 23. 4 And oh! twas this. Altered to

"And robs the guilty world of Cato's life"

6. from hence Strictly speaking "from" is redundant, "hence" means "from here," "from this," and is sufficient by itself Addison should have written, "from this," or "hence." The line borrowed from Dryden's translation of Virgil is,

"What dire effects from civil discord flow"

8 the first is included in the second The sentiment in the first line is repeated in the second. The couplet runs as follows

"'Tis this that shakes our country with alarms,
And gives up Rome a prey to Roman arms"

9 Discord is made to produce Strife. This is wrong strife produces discord! Addison is wrong in writing that Civil Discord

"Produces fraud and cruelty and strife"

The whole passage is a good example of 18th century criticism, which ignores beauty of rhythm or sentiment as an essential quality of good poetry and looks solely for logical sequence and coherence.

12 His chief companions For Steele and Budgell (the Templar) see above Philips was nick-named "Namby Pamby" on account of his child-poems, charming compositions, anticipating Blake and Lamb His *Pastorals* were published in the same year as Pope's, and caused the first friction between Pope and the other members of the clique It must be said on Pope's behalf that the Addisonian *coterie* in their loyalty to one another were always inclined to praise extravagantly the works of a member of their own circle to the depreciation of the efforts of rivals or outsiders. Philips' "Distrest Mother" was a case in point

13 Carey. Musician and poet "Sally in our Alley," is the only popular poem of his which has come down to us He wrote both tune and words (Golden Treasury Vol. I p 151)

Davenant Probably a son of the dramatist

Brett. A fashionable wit and idler of bad repute

15 Button's The popular coffee-house had originally been Wills', where Dryden and his friends used to assemble The coffee-shop replaced the tavern as the "Club" for literary and social intercourse In Shakespeare's days the "Mermaid Tavern" was the great resort of wits By Addison's days, the tavern was only resorted to for eating and drinking

23. drank too much. A fault of the age, as common, Macaulay says, as wearing a wig or a sword

bottle, *i. e.* drinking wine

26 manumission Freedom conferred on a slave by his master; emancipation.

30 Bacchus. The god of wine. Hence metaphorically used for wine.

31. auxiliary Helper, assistant Succour. Help

32. elegance of his colloquial accomplishments A very Johnsonian way of saying, "his brilliant conversational powers"

34. Mandeville. A contemporary writer, known as the author of the "Fable of the Bees" Mandeville was evidently disappointed in Addison, who never shewed up well with strangers, and whose purity of thought and speech contrasted strangely with the coarseness of contemporary manners.

36 parson in a tye-wig *I. e.*, a priest masquerading in layman's clothes. Priests wore a "full-bottomed" wig, ordinary people had the hair of theirs tied at the bottom with a riband.

Page 24. 2. sixty years. 1719, death of Addison, 1779, "Lives of the Poets."

3. Congreve. See note on p 3, l. 39

4. the vows of lovers. *I. e.*, fickle, and likely to be broken.

6. disgusted him. Wearied him, filled him with distaste
7. lineament Lit "feature"; peculiarity.
8. invincibly Lit. "unconquerably"; hopelessly wrong
9. acquiescence. Agreement

flatter his opinions This ironical attitude of Addison seems to have annoyed Pope. Cf

"Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And without sneering teach the rest to sneer"

10 Stella, Esther Johnson Beloved for many years by Swift, who is said secretly to have married her His "Diary", kept for her edification, is one of the most pathetic of documents

19 oblique strokes "Sly hits," literally "indirect blows"

41 laxity of principles Licentiousness, loose or corrupt morals

Page 25 2 above all Greek, above all Roman fame. Pope, "Imitations of Horace," II 1 26

ADDISON AS A POET Addison enjoyed a great, and even disproportionate, reputation as a poet. This was partly due to his high official position, partly to his personal character. Addison, however, is a poet of no mean order, and though he never reaches great heights, he has very few really bad passages. He maintains a mean level of excellence; he is seldom dull, never absurd. This is well illustrated by his early efforts. The most celebrated of his poems is "THE CAMPAIGN", we cannot but admire its naturalness, and its picture of Marlborough's calm intrepidity. The celebrated SIMILE OF THE ANGEL, however, is overpraised. A simile should discover a likeness in dissimilar acts, while this simile merely repeats a statement. Nine schoolboys out of ten would do as well. "ROSAMUND" is a light and graceful opera. "CATO" is the noblest of his poetic works. It lacks however dramatic force and interest. It is a poem rather than a play. Pope said it ought to be printed, not acted, but he was wrong. Its only adverse critic was the perverse and jealous JOHN DENNIS. Dennis however was an acute, though malicious, writer and his remarks are worth considering.

12 as Swift says, he became a statesman. The allusion is to Swift's lines in the "Libel on Dr. Delaney"

Thus Addison by lords caressed

Let all his barren laurels fade,
Took up himself the courtier's trade,
And grown a minister of state,
Saw poets at his levée wait

16 might have obtained the diadem. . . 'Diadem'=a king's crown 'Laurel'=the crown or garland awarded to a poet Cf "*poet laureate*." The reference is obviously to Swift's statement "*that if he had proposed himself for king he would hardly have been refused*"

19 futurity. In his life time a poet's social position, etc may lend him fame In future ages these will be forgotten and his genius will be his only claim to remembrance.

20 interest The favour of influential friends, patronage

22. a great writer Bishop Warburton (1698-1779), editor of Pope (1752) He is best known to modern readers for his footnotes to the "Essay on Man" and his defence of its philosophy He was also the author of a now forgotten work on the "Divine Legation of Moses" and other theological treatises He was a bold and uncompromising critic, but heavy and ponderous, and little likely to appreciate Addison's lightness and humour Besides he writes as a partisan of Pope. His actual words are "He was but an ordinary poet and a worse critic His verses are heavy, and his judgments of men and books superficial" Warburton was greatly esteemed in his own day, hence Johnson's phrase "a great writer."

29 He thinks justly but he thinks faintly This famous criticism well illustrates Johnson's great power of epigram It is one of the tersest, truest, and fairest criticisms ever made by one author of another

35 calmness and equability This is the predominating note in Addison's personal character and his writings It finds expression particularly in his picture of Marlborough in the "Campaign," who

"in the shock of charging hosts unmoved,

In peaceful thought the field of death surveyed"

38. Poems to Dryden, Somers, and the King Addison's poem to "Mr Dryden" (June 2nd 1693) was his earliest effort in English verse.

"He addressed some complimentary verses to Dryden, who, after many triumphs and many reverses, had at length reached a secure and lonely eminence among the literary men of that age Dryden appears to have been much gratified by the young scholar's praises" (Macaulay) In the following year he wrote "*A poem to his Majesty presented to the Lord Keeper*" The Lord Keeper was Somers

39 Ode on St Cecilia Imitation of the famous Ode by Dryden, and altogether a very poor thing Pope's imitation is better, but neither has caught Dryden's fire.

40 Account of the English Poets It was a "*poor thing*", the criticisms of Spenser and Chaucer being especially puerile.

Page 26 3 Waller (1606—1687) was always looked upon as the father of the heroic couplet He and Denham inaugurated the Augustan age and commenced the "reform" which Dryden perfected This was the view of the 18th century critic. "Our numbers were in their nonage when Waller appeared," says Johnson So too Pope :

"Waller was smooth, but Dryden taught to join
The long resounding march, the energy divine "

A regular turncoat, (like Andrew Marvell and many other literary men of the day,) he wrote a panegyric on Cromwell, an abusive poem on his death and a congratulatory Ode on the accession of Charles II

4 even Cromwell Notice the "even" Cromwell was a regicide and usurper even to the Whigs till his rehabilitation by Carlyle

7 Nassau William III's Dutch title. The point of Johnson's criticism of the lines is this "Addison says that Waller wrote a fine panegyric on Cromwell; hence, *a fortiori*, he could write a far better one on William III This makes William III to be a character like Cromwell—a very dangerous statement, particularly as both were, in a sense, usurpers!"

12 Letter from Italy Published 1703 Full title, "A Letter from Italy to the Right Honourable Charles Lord Halifax in the year 1701" "It was written while crossing the alps to Geneva It contains some graceful, though commonplace, images, and it is easy to see that Addison got his Nature from books" However, Johnson's criticism is in the main just and true "Genuine feeling," says prof Courthope, "breathes through the lines in which he imparts to his correspondent his enthusiasm in the midst of scenes which everywhere awaken memory and imagination —

'For wheresoe'er I turn my ravished eyes,
Gay gilded scenes and shining prospects rise,
Poetic fields encompass me around,
And still I seem to tread on classic ground,
For here the muse so oft her harp hath strung
That not a mountain rears its head unsung,
Renowned in verse each shady thicket grows
And every stream in heavenly numbers flows'"

14 ambition of ornament Phrases of an ornamental and high-flown character

16 broken metaphor Mixed metaphor. A metaphor is a figure of speech wherein an action properly ascribed to one particular class of objects is transferred to another class Thus, when we say, "the ship ploughs the sea," we transfer the action of "ploughing" from the plough to the ship A "mixed" (or as Johnson says, "broken,") metaphor is one in which two or more dissimilar actions

reserved his praise for the qualities which made Marlborough truly great, energy, sagacity, military science. But above all, the poet extolled the firmness of that mind, which, in the midst of confusion, uproar, and slaughter, examined and desposed everything with the serene wisdom of a higher intelligence

THE CHIEF MERIT OF THE CAMPAIGN, WE THINK, IS THAT WHICH IS NOTICED BY JOHNSON, THE MANLY AND RATIONAL REJECTION OF FICTION" (Collected Essays pp 746—8) This is a sufficient answer to Warton

34 personal prowess and mighty bone / *e*, he does not copy the ridiculous style referred to above. Johnson is thinking of the line,

"Composed of mighty bones and brawn he stands",
in Dryden's Vergil (Æneid IV 422)

Page 27 4 He best can paint them ; The concluding couplet of Pope's poem "Eloisa to Abelard"; but Johnson, with his usual slovenliness, does not trouble to verify his references. He misquotes the lines, which are in the original—

"The well sung woes will sooth my pensive ghost,
He best can paint 'em who shall feel them most"

The passage, says Johnson, is another case of mixed metaphor, "woes" cannot be "painted" and "sung" too, in a single breath!

9 Tatler No 43

simile of the Angel

"So when an angel by divine command
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
(Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,)
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast,
And, pleased, the Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm"

The immense popularity of the "famous simile" was due to its striking reference to the great storm of November 1703. That terrible visitation, which left London and Bristol, as Macaulay puts it, "like cities just sacked," cast away fleets, buried a bishop beneath his ruined palace, and filled England with mourning and dismay. The reference, so apposite at the time, has now lost its force

12 a simile is a figure of speech in which an action properly appropriate to one object, is compared with the action performed by some other object, to illustrate its qualities more vividly *E g*, when we say, "the ship cuts the water *like a plough*," we employ a *simile*, to say, "the ship ploughs the water," is to use a *metaphor*. What Johnson means to say is, that a simile, unless it conveys some striking unusual comparison, is not a *simile* at all, but a *parallel*,—an *exemplification* or *illustration*. When Addison says that Marlborough is "as graceful as Achilles," he is employing an illustration or parallel only, when he says the English gradually storming the

wall, are like the seas breaching a dyke in Holland, he is instituting a striking comparison between *dissimilar* objects, hence he is employing a genuine simile.

20 Horace A famous Roman lyrical poet and satirist, in the reign of Augustus, looked on as a model by the "Classic" school

Pindar A Greek lyric poet (circa 480 B C), author of famous odes, full of lofty images and sublime thoughts, hence called by Gray the "Theban Eagle." The verses alluded to by Johnson are as follows —

"Pindar, like torrent from the steeps,
Which, swoln with rain its banks o'erflows,
With mouth unfathomably deep,
Foams, thunders, glows "

Odes IV II 2

23 the bee Verse 7 of the same ode,

"I like Mantine bee
In act and guise,
That culls its sweets thro' toilsome hours,
Am roaming Tibur's banks along,
And fashioning with puny powers,
A laboured song "

27. Isocrates Greek orator and speech-writer, noted for the extreme polish and verbal nicety of his writings (436 B C —338 B C)

34 the dikes of Holland Much of the flat country of Holland is below the level of the sea, and only protected by huge "dykes" or walls of earth, from devastation The actual lines are

"So Belgian mounds bear on their shattered sides
The sea's whole weight, increased with welling tides "

38. lines converging. A simile is a striking resemblance between *unlikes*.

40 parallel An "exemplification" is a *parallel illustration*, with no "conveyance of unlikes." Johnson says the *parallel* between Marlborough and the Angel of the storm is so close, that it becomes an exemplification and ceases to be a simile, "just and noble" though the comparison may be

Page 28 3 teaches the battle

"Twas thus great Marlborough's mighty soul was proved,
That, in the shock of charging hosts unmoved,
Amid confusion, horror, and despair
Examined all the dreadful scenes of war,
In peaceful thought the field of death surveyed,
To fainting squadrons sent the timely aid,
Inspired repulsed battalions to engage,
And taught the dreadful battle where to rage "

II Dr Madden A friend of Johnson's, professor at Trinity College, Dublin. He means that the passage is not only defective as a simile, but is rather *commonplace*,

15 Rosamond See note on p 49

17 praise of Marlborough "The main motive of the opera in Addison's mind appears to have been the desire of complimenting the Marlborough family. It is dedicated to the Duchess, the warlike character of Henry II naturally recalls the prowess of the great modern Captain, and the king is consoled by his guardian angel for the loss of fair Rosamond with a vision of the future glories of Blenheim" (Courthope)

23 expletive epithets Adjectives put in merely to "fill out" the line, *e g*, in the couplet ("Letter from Italy")

"How has *kind* heaven adorned the *happy* land
And scattered blessings with a wakeful hand!"

we feel that "kind," and "happy" are quite unnecessary epithets, only inserted, in the 18th century manner, to act as a kind of "ballast"

24 Sir Trusty. His humour appears poor enough. This is how he announces to Henry the sad end of Rosamond —

"The King this doleful news shall read
In lines of my inditing
'Great Sir, your Rosamond is dead
As I am at present writing" (!)

29 lighter parts of poetry Society verses, epigrams, pastorals, etc. Matthew Prior is the best example of the 'occasional' versifier of the day. Dr Johnson's judgment on Addison's poetical ability in this direction appears hardly correct. Addison's best poetical achievements (outside "Cato") are his religious pieces, his translation, *e g*, of Psalm XXV, and his beautiful hymn,

Soon as the evening shades prevail
The moon takes up the wondrous tale
And nightly to the listening earth
Repeats the story of her birth,

which Thackeray says "shines like the stars". Curiously enough, Johnson never mentions this noble ode.

30 Cato The story of the production of Cato has already been related

39 excites emotion Johnson's criticism of Cato amounts to saying it is a great poem but not a great drama, and this is more or less a just statement of the case. A drama, according to Aristotle, must consist of *action* not *narration*, and must "*purge the emotions through pity and fear*". There is nothing *dramatic* about Cato, we are never kept in suspense, never tormented by anxiety as to the fate of the hero. On the other hand, the Classical drama of France (Racine and Corneille) consists solely of declaration, with no action, following the model of the late Roman dramatist Seneca. Hence Voltaire (who called Shakespeare a "drunken barbarian,") praises Cato as the first *regular drama* in English,"

Page 29. II. Pope. It is doubtful whether Pope said this out of spite or from a genuine conviction that "Cato" was a good "acting piece."

15 emulation of parties We have already referred to the great scene on the first night of "Cato" at Drury Lane. "Cato" owed its enormous success to a lucky accident. It happened to coincide with a critical moment in the party-politics.

20 Dennis. See note on p 53

DENNIS ON CATO (1) Dennis attacks Addison for having secured for his play a fictitious popularity. A really good play needs neither a packed house, party feeling, nor hired applause.

(2) Dennis says that it is the duty of every tragic poets to make his play end justly, whereas "Cato" ends in the triumph of vice over virtue. [But in real life, this is often the case, and the stage is the "mirror of life."]

(3) Dennis calls the characters unreasonable. Cato receives dry-eyed the news of his son's death, but weeps over the sorrows of Rome. We only love our country for the sake of our countrymen.

(4) By his rigid adherence to the dramatic unities, Addison is led into ridiculous situations. All the action takes place in Cato's hall. Conspirators plot under his very nose; Syphax abuses Cato in earshot of the guards, yet does so with impunity; treason, love, philosophy resound in it by turns.

(5) The crowning absurdity is the appearance of Sempromius, disguised as Juba. As if a change of uniform would make a man unrecognizable! This too, in a place where he is well-known. Then, meeting the real Juba, he calls on his own guards to murder him, but Juba kills him instead, and leaves his body untended. He does not go far, however, for he overhears the laments of Marcia (who supposes the dead man is Juba) and reaps the benefit of his heroism.

(6) Then comes the famous scene of the Fifth Act,—still in the same hall! Enters Cato, sword in one hand, Plato in the other. He chooses a public place, yet expects privacy. His posturing is not tragic but ridiculous. Then, having wounded himself in his bedroom, he is brought out into the same hall to die. Why? apparently to save his friends the

trouble of going to his chamber. Such are the absurdities of Addison's fanatical adherence to the Unity of Place, a law never laid down by Aristotle. If a modern poet can preserve this unity without destroying the probabilities, so much the better; but we should not preserve it at the price of commonsense.

[Dennis is clever but coarse in his criticisms But "Cato" is still read, and Dennis forgotten]

31 vast and violent runs Has gone on running for many nights successfully "Cato" ran for twenty nights,—a great success for those days The "Drummer" only ran for three nights, Johnson's "Irene" for nine But "Cato" was far outstripped by Gay's "Beggars Opera" which ran for sixty-three nights at Covent Garden Now-a-days a popular play in London may go on for three hundred or more nights

35. cabal A clique or band of people, united for some object The word got an odious signification from the famous ministry of the reign of Charles II (1667—1673) which was so named by its enemies because they discovered that the initials of the Ministers' names spelt this word They were Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. Addison's set always banded together to "push" any literary performance of one of their numbers,—a fact which roused Pope's jealousy,—and would have secured "Cato" a good reception had not a combination of lucky circumstances rendered their assistance unnecessary

37 prepossession. Prejudice

41 proselytes Disciples, followers

Page 30 14 poetical justice A canon of the 18th century was that a drama should "justify the ways of God to man," *i. e.*, that it should end rightly, and virtue and vice should reap their due reward The Greek tragedy in the same way aimed at "purifying our emotions by pity and fear,"—at shewing us how inexorable are the laws of Fate and divine justice But this rule does not apply to the dramas of Shakespeare, neither Desdemona in "Othello," nor Cordelia in "Lear", *deserves* her fate, the poet aims at depicting the "mystery of human suffering," which is the greatest of all tragedies This is a higher view of the functions of the drama, and Addison's dramatic position is vindicated by the fact that he actually *follows nature*, he describes, what actually happened in history, the defeat of Cato by Cæsar, apparently unjust though it was Johnson takes the nobler and broader view in defending Addison against Dennis

34 Syphax A general in the Numidian army, who holds command under prince Juba, chief of Numidia (The Numidians are on the side of Cato) Syphax plots with Sempronius, a treacherous Roman, against Cato They wish to carry off Marcia, daughter of Cato, and escape to Caesar But Juba kills Sempronius, which ought to have satisfied Dennis!

36 Portius and Marcus Sons of Cato, in love with Lucia, Marcia's friend and companion

Page 31 2 mirror of life. This, Johnson rightly considers, is the true object of the drama, "whose end, both at the first and now, was and is to hold as 'twere the mirror "up to nature". ("Hamlet" III 2)

30 rigorous unity The "unities" prescribed by the classical drama, and generally observed even in Greek tragedy, were those of time, place, and action, *i. e.*, a play must take place in a single day, there must be no change of scene, and the action must be continuous. But only the last of these unities is prescribed by Aristotle. Shakespeare observes the unities where necessary, *e. g.*, in the "Tempest," but violates them without scruple when he wishes, *e. g.*, in "Othello," where an interval of several weeks elapses between scenes one and two. The observance of the unities, where it does not cramp the action of the play, lends it coherence and compactness, but it is absurd to observe them at the expense of dramatic force. Addison's strict adherence to the unities certainly leads him into absurdities

Page 32 8. as Mr. Bayes has it Mr. Bayes is the 'hero' of that great 'mock-heroic' drama the "Rehearsal," written by the notorious Duke of Buckingham (Dryden's *Zimri*) in 1671 Bayes is Dryden himself, so called because he wears the "bays" or laurels as poet-laureate. The whole point of the "Rehearsal" is to ridicule the 'heroic' drama of the type introduced by Dryden—a play by Mr Bayes is rehearsed, to the intense delight of the audience. In one scene of this "play within a play," the Usher and Physician are plotting together and the latter says, "*Right, lay our heads together I love to be merry sometimes, but when a knotty point comes, I lay my head close to it with a snuff-box in my hand, and then I feague it away, in faith*" *Feague* (? league) seems to mean to "arrange," "adjust." A recent suggestion connects it with the slang word "fake"

(For the "Rehearsal," see Johnson's "Dryden," edited by Mr. W. H. Sharp, p 28, and note on p. 169.)

37. Sempronius in the second act Dennis is right, it is rather ridiculous to find Sempronius returning all the way to the hall of Cato to plot against its owner, this is one of the difficulties into which Addison's rigid adherence to the unities brings him

40 O's, Mac's, and Teague's Nicknames for the restless and turbulent Irish peasantry, who were then a byword for barbarity and turbulence. Many Irish names begin with O', it means "son of", *e. g.*, O'Neill "Mac" is a Scotch prefix, *e. g.*, Macdonald. "Teague" is an insulting name for the Irish

Page 33. 1. Eustace Commins A scoundrel who, imitating Titus Oates, laid information before Government of a supposed plot among the Irish Catholics to call in the French and overthrow the British rule (1680).

3 J — G. Sir John Gibson, the popular Governor of Portsmouth. Dennis says it is as silly to make out that Sempronius would choose Cato's residence to hatch his plot, as to suppose that a party of officer's plotting to seize the governor of Portsmouth, would choose his own house to arrange their plans in. They would go anywhere else first!

28 Factious Seditious.

Page 34 28. a hare on a frosty morning It is difficult to find game on a frosty day, as the scent is bad, and baffles the hounds from tracking their prey

37 non-pareille Of unparalleled or unexampled (folly)

Page 35 3. marshals of France Commanders-in-chief, the most famous was Marshal Tallard, who opposed Marlborough and was beaten and captured at Blenheim

4 duke of Bavaria An ally of the French King, who fought against the English in Spain during Marlborough's campaign

7 master of his wardrobe In charge of his clothes, his personal servant or valet; an honorary office in the Royal Court

8. devil of any guards A coarse way of saying, no guards at all

24 Aristotle the Unity of Place See note above, on p 77.

27 Chorus All Greek plays have a chorus. The chorus generally consist of elders, servants, or people occupying a subordinate position in relation to the chief personages of the play. As the chorus always remain the same, they assure unity of *place* (more or less) in the play, and as they fill up the gaps in the play, they also render the action *continuous*, *i e*, assure unity of *time* The Elizabethan drama (*e g*, Shakespeare's "Henry V") has a chorus very often, but their purpose is more to explain and introduce the plot of the play, like the prologue in Plautus or Terence. Addison adopts the chorus after the Greek style Dennis's remarks about the unities are able and just

Page 36 7. lodged. Hidden in some thicket, where she has been marked-down and tracked, ready for hunting

covert Lair, hiding-place

27 baggage The word is used here, probably, in a double sense, "baggage" is a word used of a *troublesome woman* in Elizabethan English; it is a slang word, of a coarse meaning, *impedimenta* in Latin also means "baggage" in the sense of the equipment, stores, etc of an army.

28 Whimsies Fanciful thoughts.

Page 37 10 Mr Spectator's sign of the Gaper The Spectator (No 47) relates that it is the custom in Amsterdam to hang up in the streets the picture of a fool with his cap and bells, *gaping immoderately* This is considered a joke and is called "the sign of the Gaper"

15. Lucia Beloved by Marcia's two brothers, Portius and Marcus Hence when she hears the clash of swords, she fears that they are fighting on her account This is not unnatural and Dennis unjustly laughs at the idea

Page 38. 1 how a man could fight Again Dennis is unjust, it was a common action on the part of a Roman to *muffle his face* on the approach of death, that his enemies might not exult over his dying agony So Cæsar, when stabbed by Brutus, exclaimed "Et tu Brute?" (You too, Brutus?) and *muffling his face in his robe*, fell dead at the foot of Pompey's statue.

7 defunct. A dead person,

funeral oration Speech over a dead body. Cf Shakespeare, "Julius Cæsar", Act III. Sc II. (Anthony's great oration over Cæsar's body)

11 candle-snuffer. In the days before gas or oil, the theatre was lighted by innumerable candles These required constant trimming, to keep them burning brightly, hence the candle-snuffer held a menial, but important, office.

15. eve-dropping Listening secretly to private conversation

16. cuckolded. Deceived by an unfaithful wife, who has another lover besides her husband

27. Cato appears Dennis says, it is ridiculous for Cato to *walk into the hall* to meditate Why choose this public spot? With his Plato and his drawn sword, he looks ridiculous, not tragic, more as if he were posing to an audience, than seriously contemplating death. It is unnecessarily melodramatic and quite unnatural He goes into a public hall, and apparently expects privacy—chiding his son for intruding!

29. Immortality of the soul. This is the substance of the last conversation between the great philosopher Socrates and his disciples, before the execution of the former. It is actually contained in a dialogue called "Phædo," by Plato

33. solus. Alone

34. in a sudden posture An assumed, unnatural attitude

40 design upon their midriffs=design upon their lives, i e., to stab them.

41. midriff The space between the stomach and the upper part of the body or thorax. It would be easy to inflict a mortal wound in this spot.

36 Bernard Lintot Like Tonson, a great publisher He did not *translate* the "Phaedo," but *published* Theobald's translation (III3)

Page 39 3 lecture A reading

13 too much horseplay. Originally said by Dryden of Jeremy Collier, who attacked the supposed immorality of the stage Horseplay=practical jokes ; rough, rude jests

18 Cavils Fault-finding.

GENERAL CRITICISM AND CONCLUSION.

Addison's shorter poems do not call for special mention. His translations are loose and deficient in scholarly accuracy. His poetry is on the whole **POLISHED** and **PURE**; never very good but never bad His metre is too smooth, and his versification inferior to Dryden People who affect to despise Addison forget how much we owe to him; he awoke in England a general love for intellectual subjects for the first time

As a **CRITIC**, Addison deserves high praise, he popularized "**PARADISE LOST**", and his remarks on Ovid are very apposite, his Essays on "Wit" and the "Pleasures of Imagination" are admirable But it was a pity he wasted time over the old Ballads.

As a **STUDENT OF CONTEMPORARY MANNERS**, he is unsurpassed He is humorous without exaggeration, and his comedy never becomes a burlesque As a teacher, ethical and religious, he is unequalled. His teaching avoids dangerous extremes, it is eminently safe and sensible.

As a **PROSE WRITER**, he is a "**MODEL OF THE MIDDLE STYLE**" He is neither slipshod nor pompous; his unaffected grace, and delightful simplicity have a unique charm. He is a model to all ages of clear, unaffected and charming English prose

20 Addison's smaller poems We have already noticed the beautiful Hymn, praised by Thackeray Johnson unaccountably fails to mention it

22 Kneller. Sir Godfrey Kneller (1648-1723), court painter to four monarchs, Charles II, William III, Anne, and George I On his painting a portrait of the last-mentioned, Addison wrote a short poem or epigram, "To Sir Godfrey Kneller on his Picture of the King," in which he says that just as Phidias, the Greek sculptor,

"through many a god, advanced to Jove," (i.e., after making statues of many lower deities finally dared to make one of the supreme God,) so Kneller, after painting the earlier kings, (Charles II, Anne, William III) at last acquired the supreme bliss of painting George I —

"The last, the happiest British king,
Whom thou shalt paint, or I shall sing"

This brilliant little occasional poem is in the typical 18th century manner, and it is hard for modern readers to appreciate the ecstasies with which contemporary critics mention the courtly simile

24 His translations The principal ones were the translation from the Georgics, praised by Dryden, BKS II and III of Ovid's Metamorphoses, and a few experiments, e.g., part of the 3rd book of the Æneid and one or two of Horace's odes

27 licentiously paraphrastical "Licentious" = free, indulging in poetic licence, paraphrastical = of the nature of a paraphrase Johnson merely means, that Addison's translations are too free, he takes too many liberties with his author in his desire to avoid a "literal" rendering

36 correctness The first aim of the Augustan poet was correctness, i.e., absolute uniformity of metre There were to be no redundant syllables, no false rhymes, the break should come at the end of the couplet, and, in a word, every line should be the exact metrical counterpart of its fellow This accounts for the unvarying monotony of the poetry of the age, though it was a natural reaction after the extravagancies of the later Elizabethans.

37 Dryden. Waller was the inaugurator, Dryden the perfecter, of "correct" poetry Pope brought it to its acme of excellence.

38 dissonant The use of imperfect or discordant rhymes was a capital crime in the eyes of Augustan critics, who considered "form" before "matter" We find flagrant examples in Pope's earlier verses, e.g.,

"Leave dangerous truths to unsuccessful satires
And flattery to fulsome dedicators" (1)

Essay on Crit 591-2

39 he admits broken lines, i.e., a full stop or pause occurring in the middle of a line or couplet, instead of at the end of the latter. In blank verse they are common enough, and indeed are employed by Milton for variety

40 triplets and Alexandrines A triplet is a "bracket" of three rhyming lines, an Alexandrine is a line containing twelve syllables instead of ten Dryden freely uses both as variations from the orthodox couplet and five-foot line Thus Addison may be said to be an imitator of Dryden's versification Pope in his earlier (not his later) work, occasionally employs the triplet, but he consistently condemns and ridicules the Alexandrine, (except in his youthful poem the *Messiah*), and cleverly parodies it in the *Essay on Criticism*. —

*A needless Alexandrine ends the song,
And, like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along*

Johnson says that "Cowley was the first poet that mingled Alexandrines at pleasure with common heroic ten syllables, and from him Dryden borrowed the practice, whether ornamental or licentious." As an example of a triplet we may take the following lines from the "Essay" (339—41)

They haunt Parnassus but to please the ear,
Not mend their minds, as some to church repair
Not for the doctrine, but the Music there

Page 40. 3. Addison as a critic Dr Johnson defends Addison, who was condemned as "unscientific" by his contemporaries, because his criticisms are founded upon *taste* and not upon formal rules. Now-a-days, of course, the reverse is the case, "taste" is predominant, and rules are nowhere. The eighteenth century critic, called upon to pronounce judgment on a certain poem, would examine its metrical correctness, he would test the "propriety" and consistency of the metaphors, and try to detect verbal contradictions and inconsistencies, etc. Johnson himself affords good examples of typical Augustan methods in his examination of Addison's poems, particularly the prologue to "Cato" and the "mixed metaphor" about "bridling the muse" in the "Letter from Italy"

9 Addison is now despised Johnson finds it necessary to apologize for Addison. True, he says, his critical methods *are* unscientific, but we must remember that he is writing for uncritical and general audience. His object is to interest the 'man in the street,' the society woman, the young idler, in literature, and hence he is bound to be unscientific. With the present spread of education, says Johnson, his methods would be very different if he lived now-a-days

23. emulation of intellectual elegance. A desire to excel in refinement and literary taste

26 his Prefaces The prose prefaces or dissertations prefixed by Dryden to his plays, are most important contributions to literary criticism, besides marking an epoch in the development of English prose style. The most striking is the "Preface of Heroic Plays," prefixed to his "Conquest of Granada." Other prose introductions are also of great importance, e.g., the "Discourse on Satire" prefixed to his "Juvenal"

27 with little parcimony With generous, unsparing hand

29 scholastic Technical, abstruse or difficult

rudiments The 'A B C' of the subject, the rudiments or elementary principles of criticism

31 learning to write They were very useful for the young author, but not for the ordinary man who reads criticisms merely to be able to discuss his author intelligently.

34 superficial On the surface, not "deep"

35. more attainments, deeper studies, advanced criticism.

36. pomp of system and severity of science. In a pompous and severely scientific and formal manner Yet to modern readers, Addison's criticisms of Milton seem very formal. He applies fixed rules to "Paradise Lost", and has little to say of what we now consider to be its greatest beauties.

38. the poem neglected Here we see Johnson's own prejudices "Paradise Lost," in spite of the dislike on the part of the "wits" and fashionables for blank verse, was never unpopular, no less than seven editions were issued up to 1711. The *fashionable* literary taste of the day was all in favour of rhymed couplets, but it represented a smaller circle of critics than we are sometimes led to believe. The detractors of blank verse, Pope and Johnson, naturally create an exaggerated impression on the reader, as their celebrity and insistence blot out all feebler voices of protest But we must remember that Phillips, a member of Addison's own clique, wrote a blank verse "Blenheim" as early as 1704, in Milton's own manner.

blandishments of gentleness and facility. A Johnsonian way of saying, "the persuasive effect of a gentle and easy manner."

39. universal favourite Johnson exaggerates He would make out that Milton, utterly unread up till then, suddenly became a universal favourite owing to the "Spectator." This is quite a misstatement Milton was never "neglected", on the other hand, he never was, and never will be, a "universal favourite." Addison's admirable papers must have stimulated a general interest in the great epic, but it is doubtful whether he actually effected the sale greatly.

Page 41 I lower disquisitions The average Augustan critic looked upon all poetry before Waller as "barbarous". Milton's Epic poetry was acknowledged to be a work of genius, but spoilt because unrhymed; (Milton's tirade against rhyme in epic was considered an eccentric fad,) and Shakespeare was looked upon as a crude and barbarous, but ingenious, playwright. Addison was greatly in advance of his age in admiring the old ballads In his younger days he had been as great a Philistine as Johnson, writing as he did that—

"Old Spenser next, warmed with poetic rage
In ancient tales amused a barbarous age,
But now the mystic tale that pleased of yore,
Can charm an understanding age no more"

2 Chevy Chase Johnson, with true 18th century contempt for the primitive, says that this fine old ballad "cannot possibly be told in a manner which shall make less impression on the mind" This is just the opposite to Sir Philip Sidney, who declared. "Certainly I must confess my own barbarousness I never heard the old song of Percy and Douglas, that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet."

The ballads were old folk-songs, composed by the minstrels and sung in the castles and halls in the country. A famous collection

was made by Bishop Percy, called "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry," 1765, and Sir Walter Scott published a collection called "Border Minstrelsy" in 1802. The story of Chevy Chase is a border tale, dealing with one of the many fights between the Percies, earls of Northumberland, and the Douglasses, their great Scotch neighbours over the border. In defiance of the Douglasses, the Percies go and hunt deer in Scottish territory. A specimen here given may enable the reader to judge whether Addison or his critic is in the right —

The Percy of Northumberland
A vow to God made he,
That he would hunt in the mountains
Of Cheviot within days three,
In spite of doughty Douglas
And all that with him be
The fattest harts in all Cheviot
He said he would kill and carry away,
"By my faith," said the doughty Douglas again,
"I will let that hunting if I may"

"The beauty of these purely popular ballads, their directness and freshness, has made them admired even by the artificial critics of the most artificial periods in literature. Thus Sir Philip Sidney confesses that the ballad of Chevy Chase when chanted by a 'blind crowder' stirred his blood like the sound of a trumpet. Addison devoted two articles in the 'Spectator' to a critique of the same poem."
Andrew Lang.

3 **Wagstaff** Dr Wagstaff parodied "Chevy Chase" in a comic "Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb," a famous dwarf.

4 **Dennis** Addison, with rare discernment for his age, says that "Chevy Chase" is good because it is *natural*. Dennis says that poetry is unnatural from three causes, *viz*, because it is bombastic, affected, or childish and stupid. "Chevy Chase" apparently would fall under the third category, according to Johnson and Dennis.

7 **bombast or tumour** Turgid, swollen, and pompous style, when we affect *exaggerated* grandeur.

9 **Affectation** The use of "conceits" far-fetched, and unnatural language, similes, sentiments, etc.

10 **imbecillity**. Childish, weak, and silly simplicity of style.

16 **profound observers** This is sarcastic of course.

18 **remarks on Ovid** These were part of his translation of the "Metamorphoses."

20 **Wit and Imagination** Ten Essays on the former subject, between Nos. 35 and 65, ten on the latter, Nos. 411—21.

22. **dispositions inherent in the mind of man, &c.** he bases his psychology on the natural functions and qualities of the human mind.

35. enthusiastic Excitable, immoderate or unreasonable. The 18th century, "the age of common sense," looked askance upon enthusiasm, romance, anything transcending reason in short, as suspicious and untrustworthy.

39 Cogency Force.

41. phantom of a vision . . . allegory, *e. g.*, as in the "Vision of Mirza" Addison's aim is always to "point a moral," as all Augustan writers wish to do, but he does it with infinite grace, variety and lightness of touch.

Page 42 3. *Mille habet.* "She wears a thousand guises and wears them all with grace"

5. grovelling Low and mean.

scrupulosity. Affectation in the selection and use of words.

13. transitions and connections In passing from one argument to another, he uses an unnecessarily large number of words to make the connection of thought quite clear to his readers

15 idiomatic Dr. Burney said that a proof of the extreme idiomatic character of Addison's writings was to be found in the fact that, in spite of its seemingly studied simplicity, it is almost *untranslatable*.

17. stagnates Stands still, ceases to flow

20 Whoever wishes . . . See Macaulay's Essay on Addison (Ed. Cooper, pp 89-94)

Mr Courthope gives the following estimate — "His style reflects in the most refined and beautiful form the conversational idiom of his period He is, indeed, far from attaining that faultless accuracy which has been sometimes ascribed to him It was his aim to make philosophy popular, and always to discourse with his readers in familiar language; but it is observable that, when writing on abstract subjects, he frequently becomes involved and obscure . . . Many inaccuracies of expression may be detected by the careful reader even in those compositions of Addison in which he has been most happily inspired . . . It is instructive to take note of these small blemishes, not only because they show how far the most finished writers come short of complete accuracy, but also because many of them seem to spring naturally out of Addison's conversational manner of writing They are but specks in the midst of the ease, beauty, and simplicity of his familiar style The prose of Addison marks the disappearance of that long tradition of Euphuism, which had left distinct traces of its influence even on so idiomatic a writer as Dryden, in whose style two prominent features are metaphor and verbal antithesis Addison's style on the other hand is mainly distinguished by a crystal clearness of expression, a beautiful property in the choice of words, and such a balance in the distribution of them as, without the aid of antithesis, leaves the ear

at the close of each period with a sense of satisfaction. Instead of unnatural or far-fetched resemblances, in the discovery of which the Euphuist showed his 'wit,' Addison sought to bring out by fancy paradoxes really hidden in nature . . .

Again, in place of the tricks of verbal antithesis, practised by the Euphuists, Addison sought rather to charm mind and ear simultaneously by displaying the varied aspects of a single thought in a rising climax of rhythmical sentences

In a word, it may be said that the essay in the hands of Addison acquired that perfection of well-bred ease which arises from a complete understanding between an author and his audience. Writing in an age when opinion on all questions of art and manners was greatly divided, while at the same time there was a general desire for intellectual agreement, he treated of a variety of matters, which he was able, through the happiness of his genius, to present in a form pleasing to the imagination of the people. In later essayists we observe that, as their materials are less abundant, and their own personality becomes in consequence more prominent, their style begins to show less of the genius of conversation. When Johnson, for instance, moralises in the *Rambler*, he discourses with the reader, as he himself allows, in the spirit of a dictator. On the other hand, in the *Essays* of Charles Lamb, everything depends on the writer's own point of view, his fancy has to be followed, like the rays of the sun from the face of a mirror, into whatever odd nooks and crannies its whimsical caprice may happen to flash at the moment. In Addison the moral has not yet been pushed into the lecture, nor has humour yet departed from the work-a-day thought in him instinctively clothes itself in the common language of refined society, and fancy, grace, and beauty seem to spring out of the nature of things."

"The style of Addison," says Mr Gosse, "is superior to his matter, and holds a good many flies in its exquisite amber. It did not reach its highest quality until Addison had become acquainted with *A Tale of the Tub*, but it grew to be a finer thing, though not a greater, than the style of Swift. Addison was excessively fastidious in his choice of words, laboriously polishing and balancing his phrases until they represented the finest literary art at his disposal, until the rhythm was perfect, the sentence as light and bright as possible, and the air of good breeding at which he always aimed successfully caught. He was probably the earliest English author of prose, except, perhaps, Sir Thomas Browne, who aimed deliberately at beauty of execution, and treated the pedestrian form with as much respect as though it had been verse . . .

Addison's share in completing the development of our language was very considerable, he smoothed down English phraseology to an almost perilous extent, and Swift, who admitted that the *Spectator* was very pretty, thought that Addison's tendency was too feminine."

